A STUDY OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CATHOLIC STATE EDUCATION: INVOLVING A COMPARISON OF THE ATTITUDES OF PUPILS AND TEACHERS IN SELECTED ~~CATHOLIC~~ SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN LONDON AND LIVERPOOL

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A STUDY OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO CATHOLIC STATE EDUCATION, INVOLVING A COMPARISON OF THE ATTITUDES OF PUPILS AND TEACHERS IN SELECTED CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN LONDON AND LIVERPOOL

ABSTRACT

The central hypothesis of the thesis is that an important aim of Catholic state education has been to incorporate the children of Irish working-class migrants. This hypothesis is differently explored in part one and part two of the thesis. Part one is essentially a sociological account of the relationship between the English Catholic Church, the State and the migrant community in the 19th century. This account is preceded by an analysis of Irish migrants and the political, economic and cultural contexts of their settlement in Britain. Part one attempts to show the role which the structure and content of Catholic elementary education played in the process of denationalising the children of this migrant community. This was achieved by institutionalising a silence on the political origins of the migrants and by forging a bond between the Church and its Irish congregation based on Catholicity and community. In this way the political voice of the Irish in Britain was stilled and the process of incorporation was facilitated Renewed migration from Ireland ensured that these incorporatist strategies continued to be employed and relevant in the 20th century. Part two consists of an exploratory empirical study comparing the attitudes of pupils and teachers from selected Catholic schools in Liverpool and London, the former being the main site of 19th-century migration and the latter the main site of 20th-century migration. The aims of this investigation were two-fold: to explore whether the practices of Catholic schools continue to render the Irish antecedents of the majority of their pupils invisible and thus perpetuate the incorporatist strategies of the 19th century; and to discover the degree to which class, religion and national identity, mediated through generation and region, still significantly determine the identity and experience of being Irish in Britain.

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INTRODUCTION

1. BEGINNINGS

This thesis developed from my experiences when teaching in a Catholic comprehensive school in south London in the 1970s. On the one hand, my attempts to teach about Ireland or the Irish in Britain as part of sociology courses were hindered both by the dearth of materials for use in schools on the subject and by the specific content of those that did exist. On the other hand, the preponderance of either ignorance or reluctance to talk about things Irish was striking in a school where over half the pupils and many of the staff were Irish or of Irish descent. In previous research I attempted to establish what was the basis of the presentation of Britain's relationship to Ireland in school texts (Hickman 1980), thus addressing what I had found was problematic about the specific content of the materials which did include reference to Ireland. The present thesis addresses the silence I encountered when teaching: the silence of many pupils about their Irish background.

Both personal knowledge and initial research indicated that this silence in the school reflected wider silences. Being second-generation Irish I was well aware of the ambiguities, ambivalences and pressures that can surround being Irish in Britain. Part of the pressure resides in the absence of recognition of Ireland and the Irish in British culture, except in certain designated contexts. Thus, for example, school materials in general marginalise Ireland and the significance of Britain's relationship to Ireland, but all accounts of 19th-century British political history deal with the 'Irish Question' and the burden it proved for Gladstone. This conforms to the model of explanation which underpins all explanations of Anglo-Irish relations that figure in school texts. The model is one which emphasises the rationality and non-violence of British policy and traditions compared with the irrationality and violence of Irish actions and traditions. This model of explanation does not originate with textbook

production but emanates from the academic disciplines upon which such texts are based (Hickman 1980).

The dual silence, that is, of the Irish in Britain and in British culture about Ireland, has meant that the Irish do not figure in the multicultural or 'race relations' debate which has had such an inexorable growth in the past twenty years. When I commenced the present research there was one published sociological text on the Irish in Britain, and this remains the case as I complete the thesis. The author, Jackson (1963), presents his analysis within an assimilation perspective. He details the hostility and difficulties the Irish encountered when they first migrated to Britain in large numbers in the 19th century. But he goes on to explain that when the next large migration of the Irish to Britain occurred, in the mid-20th century, the situation had improved. The 19th-century migrants and their descendants had been assimilated and the new Irish migrants did not face the same degree of opposition or discrimination. However, at the end of the book Jackson does broach the issue of Irish identity in Britain.

Jackson poses the problem of identity as a psychological process of adjustment involving the resolution of two worlds: that which has been left behind but continues to exert a powerful influence; and the new and very different society to which the migrants have journeyed. The implication of his analysis is that this process of adjustment is the main problem which the Irish in Britain now face and that this is an unfortunate but inevitable part of the assimilation process. In particular, Jackson considers that it is the second-generation Irish who will experience 'the pressures to conform to new social patterns' (Jackson 1963:160). He anticipates that there might be potential tension between the children and their parents' who would retain much of the reality of their Irish identity and heritage. Jackson considers that Catholic schools, because they contain many Irish teachers might help avoid this potential conflict. The present thesis in many respects commences where Jackson had to finish his account of the Irish in Britain.

My own experiences and knowledge as a pupil and as a teacher did not bear out Jackson's comments on the role of Catholic education. Further,

the resurgence of a public profile for the Irish community in the early 1980s called into question Jackson's prediction of assimilation and his assumptions about the necessarily improved circumstances of the Irish in Britain in the 20th century. This resurgence involved the creation of new Irish community organisations, whose membership was composed of people both born in Ireland and of various generations of Irish descent. Many of these organisations point to the continuing experience of anti-Irish racism in Britain. The racist practices most commonly referred to are: Irish jokes; the operation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act; the distorted accounts of both Irish history and of the current situation in Northern Ireland given in schools and the mass media; and discrimination in the areas of housing, employment, social services, policing and in prisons (for example, see Connor 1986, Walter 1988).

The higher public profile of the Irish in Britain in the 1980s placed in sharp relief the previous low public profile of the Irish as a minority group in British society. An historical and empirical investigation into the basis of the low public profile and silence of the Irish in Britain was, therefore, planned focusing on the role of Catholic education.

2. THE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES OF THE THESIS

An assimilation perspective was unsatisfactory for this investigation because it is primarily based on the erroneous assumption that with time, and short of the intractability of skin colour, migrant groups will be absorbed into the wider culture. It assumes that it is the first-generation migrants who experience the most hostility and that familiarity lessens prejudice. Even a brief perusal of the history of the Irish in Britain reveals both these assumptions to be extremely doubtful. Similarly, the more recently developed ethnicity perspective proved inappropriate. Ethnicity posits cultural difference as the problem and inter- and intra-ethnic relations as the main object of study. Ethnic identifications are viewed as primordial and not as susceptible to acculturation. But some form of common understanding between different ethnic groups is envisaged within a pluralist setting. However, in the

last few years there have been a number of critiques of the ethnic approach. The majority of these highlight the lack of systematic consideration of power and class relations within this framework (Lawrence 1981). In comparison to either the assimilation or ethnicity perspectives, the approach adopted here utilises the concepts of: segregation, differentiation, incorporation and identity.

The central hypothesis of the thesis is that one of the chief aims of Catholic state education in Britain has been to incorporate the children of working-class Irish migrants. The historical origins of the strategies of incorporation are explored in part one of the thesis. The hypothesis rests on the premise that it is appropriate to utilise an incorporatist rather than an assimilation or ethnicity model in order to account for the experiences of the Irish in Britain. Specifically, strategies which were developed in the 19th century to incorporate second-generation Irish children continued to be employed and relevant in the 20th century. In the second part of the thesis some of the long-term consequences of strategies of incorporation for the identity of those of Irish descent in Britain are explored.

Racism is often presented as a recent force in British society, dating from the migration of people from the New Commonwealth to Britain in the 1950s. Consequently, racism is primarily assumed to be based on 'colour'. Thomas (1985), a Welsh Nationalist MP, argues that the 'race relations industry' constructs the problem of racism as recent because the unspoken discourse of the 'multicultural' debate is one that goes to the heart of the nature of British society, and the British State itself. Diversity and plurality, Thomas explains, have to be seen as recent because to admit otherwise is to admit that the whole history of Britain internally as well as externally has been about imperialism, racism, colonialism, linguistic and political domination. It will be argued in this thesis that British national identity is a constructed identity which serves to render viable as one nation what is essentially a federation of different nations. The incorporatist strategy, required to absorb different populations to a centralised national identity, has involved various racist practices. In

this thesis strategies of incorporation directed towards the Irish in Britain will be examined.

The concept of incorporation is being used, therefore, to denote the active attempts by the State to regulate the expression and development of separate and distinctive identities by potentially oppositional groups in order to create a single nation-state. Central to this study are the strategies of incorporation, in particular Catholic education, used by the State to regulate the expression and development of Irish identity. The argument that will be developed in the thesis is that the incorporation of the Irish Catholic working class in Britain was based on strategies of incorporation and was not the consequence of an inevitable process of assimilation or integration. The thesis is also concerned with the consequences of strategies of incorporation for the identity of people of Irish descent in Britain.

In this thesis identity is not being used as a psychological concept but to denote social and political consciousness. The focus of the study is on national identity. As Bush (1985) points out:

> ... the central surface appearance of self to be penetrated is the national framework of our identity. The most intense feature of capitalist hegemony is the nationalist wedge. (Bush 1985: 7)

Bush is referring to the framework that British national identity provides for all who subscribe to that nationality, in the course of a critique of socialist theorists who elide such considerations in their accounts of the working class in this country. The construction of this national framework of identity in Britain and its relationship to subjective consciousness form the backdrop to this study. Identity as posed here is an arena of contestation. The struggle is between the dominant culture and the various sources of oppositional consciousness which confront it.

The thesis also takes issue with those theories which assume that the basis of social and political consciousness lies overridingly in social

class experiences. West (1984), writing about religion and Marxism, emphasises how the 'secular sensibilities' of most radical intellectuals and activists in the 'west' limit their work:

> To extend leftist discourses about political economy and the state to a discourse about capitalist civilization is to accent a sphere rarely scutinised by Marxist thinkers: the sphere of culture and everyday life. And any serious scrutiny of this sphere sooner or later must come to terms with religious ways of life and religious ways of struggle. (West 1984: 9)

For both the Irish and British working classes there are strands to their political identity other than social class. Of primary importance have been religious affiliations and national allegiances. For the British working class these were to prove the basis of their hegemonisation. For the Irish working class in Britain religious affiliation and national identity were the basis of the oppositional consciousness they possessed and ensured that they were subject to strategies of incorporation.

The concepts of segregation and differemtiation are being used to reinterpret evidence about the experience of Irish migrants in 19th-century Britain. This reinterpretation is attempted in order to explore a supplementary hypothesis that the segregatiom and differentiation of the Irish Catholic working class in the 19th century were the consequence of state strategies and have been an important factor shaping Irish experience in Britain. The first half of the 19th century was a period in which there was a struggle over the establishment of capitalist social relations. A significant factor in the resolution of that struggle in the interests of capital was the segregation and differentiation of the working class. Although this thesis cannot examine the processes of segregation and differentiation in great detail, it does seek to indicate the significance of the presence of the Irish in the industrial cities of England and Scotland for the restabilisation of class relations which characterised the post-1850 period. The argument developed is that the Irish in Britain were a critical factor in the segregation and differentiation of the working

class and that this formed part of the process of constructing the national framework of identity in Britain.

3. THE ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The thesis is presented in two parts. Part one, chapters one to six, is a sociological account of the relationship between the English Catholic Church, the State and the Irish migrant community in the 19th century. The origins of Catholic education as a strategy of incorporating the Irish in Britain are explored. Part two, chapters seven to eleven, consists of an exploratory empirical study about the identity of the Irish in Britain, comparing the attitudes of pupils and teachers from selected Catholic schools in London and Liverpool.

3.1 PART ONE

The first three chapters of the thesis seek to establish the wider context in which the history and experience of the Irish migrants to Britain in the 19th century must be viewed. Chapter one examines the cultural context of the settlement of the Irish in 19th-century Britain. The origins of anti-Irish racism and anti-Catholicism are examined. It is argued that anti-Irish racism and anti-Catholicism have been integral to the formation of British national identity. In the 19th century British nationalism underwent reformulation so that it expressed both the ideology of a federated state and of an imperial enterprise. The role of anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish racism in this reformulation is the central concern of the chapter.

In chapter two the economic context of the migration and settlement of the Irish is examined. The economic underdevelopment of Ireland by Britain and the consequence of forced migration for millions of Irish people is outlined. The structural importance of Irish labour for the development of agricultural and industrial development in Britain in the 19th century is given substantial attention. This clarifies the social class position of

Irish labour migrants and the impact social class had on Irish experience in Britain.

Chapter three examines the social and political context of Irish settlement in Britain. The aim of the chapter is to demonstrate that in the 19th century Irish migrants were perceived as a social problem and a political threat and that this elicited a State response. A particular fear was that politcal unity might be forged between the Irish peasantry and the British working class in the first half of the 19th century. This was an alliance which would seriously threaten the State. Political unity did not develop, except briefly in 1848 during the last throes of Chartism. One of the chief reasons was that processes of segregating and differentiating the Irish from the rest of the working class were already under way in the first half of the 19th century. The processes of segregation and differentiation are explored in the chapter.

Chapters four, five and six are an investigation of the central hypothesis that the aim of Catholic elementary education was to incorporate the children of Irish migrants by strengthening their Catholic identity at the expense of weakening their Irish identity. In chapter four the significance of the English Catholic Church for strategies of incorporating the Irish is explored. The centrality of the relationship with the Catholic Church for Irish communities has been well documented by others. The interest of this thesis is to clarify the aims of the mission of the English Catholic Church to its Irish congregation. The argument is developed that the twin aims of the mission of the Catholic Church were retention and incorporation. The constraints which influenced the implementation of the strategy of incorporation of the Irish by the Church are also considered.

Chapter five examines the context in which religious and educational matters were debated and resolved in the first half of the 19th century. The chapter explores how attempts to segregate, differentiate and incorporate the Irish in Britain became fused through the agency of the English Catholic Church and its main instument, Catholic schools. The chapter examines the role of anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish hostility in

the development of a separate Catholic school system. This historical investigation is undertaken in order to illustrate the context in which Catholic education came to be viewed as the principal long-term means of resolving the problems posed the State by the Irish in Britain.

In chapter six the aim is to explore how the strategy of incorporating the children of Irish migrants by Catholic education was put into practice. The aims of the Catholic hierarchy as expressed by the Catholic Poor School Committee are examined. The main argument is that incorporation involved strengthening the Catholic identity of the Irish and weakening their national identity. The structure and content of Catholic elementary education are reviewed to substantiate the argument. This historical account is the foundation of the analysis attempted here into what constitutes the basis of the low public profile and silence of the Irish in Britain.

3.2 PART TWO

Part two is concerned to examine the consequences for the Irish in Britain in the 20th century of strategies of incorporation developed in the 19th century. By the 20th century the terms and conditions upon which the Irish lived and worked in this country were determined. These terms and conditions had been formed in the frame-setting period of the previous century, considered in the first part of the thesis. When a further substantial phase of Irish migration took place between the 1930s and the 1960s the Catholic education system was to be crucial in determining the experience of these new Irish migrants, as it had been for the 19th-century migrants. In the second half of the thesis one aspect of this experience is explored in depth: the identity of the Irish in Britain.

In order to investigate the identity of the Irish an exploratory empirical study was undertaken in selected Catholic schools. The aims of the empirical study were twofold: to establish whether the content and practices of Catholic schools continue to render the Irish antecedents of the majority of their pupils invisible and thus perpetuate the

incorporatist strategies of the 19th century; and to discover the degree to which social class, religion and national identity, mediated through generation and region, significantly determine the identity and experience of being Irish in Britain. The thesis is based on the premise that generation is not the crucial variable in determining identity, as assimilation theories assume. The argument is developed that the significance of generation lies rather in the fact that the full weight of strategies of incorporation are focused on the second and subsequent generations.

The empirical study includes an area synonymous with the 19th-century Irish migration and an area synonymous with the migration from Ireland of the 1950s and 1960s, and is based on interviews with pupils and teachers in Catholic schools in these areas. Chapter seven introduces the empirical study and explains its methodology and limitations. In chapter eight the findings about the selected identity of the pupils and teachers interviewed are presented. In chapters nine, ten and eleven the attitudes of the sample about the Irish in Britain, Catholicism and Catholic schools and Northern Ireland are presented and discussed with respect to the light they throw on the hypotheses of incorporation and identity.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGINS OF ANTI-IRISH RACISM AND ANTI-CATHOLICISM

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to examine the origins of anti-Irish racism and anti-Catholicism. The intention is to demonstrate how both phenomena contributed to a complex categorising of the Irish in 19th-century Britain. Both anti-Irish racism and anti-Catholicism have been integral to the formation of British national identity, are constituent elements of British culture, and as will be argued in this thesis, have shaped government and institutional practices regarding the Irish in Britain.

In this account racism is not being tied to any particular biological definition of 'races', primarily because it is difficult to argue that 'race' means anything outside the social context in which the notion of it is constructed. Arguments about whether a specific set of practices, meanings and attitudes involves racism in a 'true sense' can be very misleading. There are no pure races and the differences between them are small compared with the basic similarities. What undoubtedly exist are certain physical characteristics which it is possible for particular 'racisms' to utilize to swell their power and be the signs with which their passage is assured. Equally, many racisms are based on perceptions about the 'character' of a 'race', frequently referenced as 'national character', and seen as the consequence of natural proclivities. Many 'racisms' employ a combination of factors. Thus race refers to:

> ... a set of imaginary properties of inheritance which fix and legitimate real positions of social domination or subordination in terms of genealogies of generic difference. (Cohen 1988: 23)

Racist presuppositions always assume specified characteristics are innate and always denote consequent relations of superiority and inferiority between different groups of people denoted as 'races'.

There are many different racisms, each with their own specificity. In Britain assumptions and presuppositions about the Irish are based on the practices which have characterised relations between the British as the colonising power in Ireland and the Irish as a colonised people. Ideologies of superiority and inferiority always accompany colonisation. Sartre (1974) posited why this is the case:

> How can an elite of usurpers, aware of their mediocrity, establish their privileges? By one means only: debasing the colonized to exalt themselves, denying the title of humanity to the natives, and defining them as simply absences of qualities - animals not humans. This does not prove hard to do, for the system deprives them of everything. (Sartre 1974: XXV1)

This is the racism of colonialism.

In this chapter the relationship between British national identity and anti-Irish racism will be examined in the following manner. First, the origins and characteristics of anti-Irish racism are traced to the Anglo-Norman invasion. Secondly, the origins of the power of anti-Catholicism are located in the Reformation and the creation of politicised religious identities in the 16th and 17th centuries. In the next two sections anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish racism in 19th-century Britain are examined in detail. Finally, the implications of the coalescence of colonial racism and the ideology of the nation state in the 19th century, for understanding racism in Britain, are suggested.

2. THE ORIGINS OF ANTI-IRISH RACISM

For four centuries after the initial Anglo-Norman invasion of Ireland in 1169 there were various attempts to gain effective control of the country. These attempts met with only temporary success. From the 16th century systematic incursions were made to control and exploit Ireland on a permanent and persistent basis. However, racist views about the Irish predated this systematic colonisation. Since the Anglo-Norman invasion in the 12th-century 'justifications' have been produced which have relied upon conceptions of the Irish as inferior. The evidence for dominating Ireland has involved either lengthy discursions on the Irish national character or the furnishing of proof of Irish barbarism and savagery. Both were directly related to notions about the Celts as a 'race'. These characterisations predated the 'racialised' terminology that took on a particular significance in the Victorian period.

In a unique study of British historiography and Ireland Lebow (1973) has traced the long-term influence of the first accounts of the Irish in the 12th century, particularly once they were translated into English in the 16th century. Certain threads and images run through the accounts of the Irish down the centuries. The main emphasis prior to the Reformation was on their paganism, superstition and barbarism. Infamous amongst the chroniclers of the perfidiousness of the Irish is Giraldus Cambrensis. His 'Topography of Ireland' was published in 1187 and included a vilification of the religion and customs of the Irish and justified the invasion as a necessary civilising influence upon Ireland. Irish religion comprised superstitious doctrines and pagan practices designed to secure the ascendancy of the priests over the uncivilized masses. Cambrensis described the Irish as:

> ... indeed a most filthy race, a race sunk in vice, a race more ignorant than all other nations of the first principles of the faith. Hitherto they neither pay tithes or first fruits; they do not contract marriage, nor shun incestuous connections; they frequent not the church of God with proper reverence. (Cambrensis quoted in Lebow 1973:6)

Post-Reformation writers continued this theme and it merged into the general picture of what Irish Catholicism represented. Rarely was the supposed moral depravity of the Irish portrayed as the consequence of Catholicism, rather the Irish refusal to embrace Protestantism was due to the debased character of the Celt. For example, John Temple, an 18th- century Englishman, wrote that the perverse dispositions of the Irish, reinforced by centuries of heathenism, had made them immune to the advantages of the Reformation. In the 19th century, when Continental and English Catholicism became fashionable in certain circles, Irish Catholicism did not become respectable, it remained as papism or popery (Lebow 1973: 7).

The other main strand to these anti-Irish expressions was the concentration on the Irish proclivity for violence and rebellion. The various Irish rebellions against British rule primarily occasioned these theories. As Lebow points out, most British historians categorically rejected the Irish claim that such uprisings were a reaction to British oppression. Instead, they chose to explain rebellion in terms of the Irish dislike of order, tranquility, and industry. This argument, first broached by Cambrensis, was further elaborated upon by Elizabethan writers. Later British historians resorted to the same logic to explain the origins of the great rebellions of the 17th century. For example, Richard Rich, writing in 1610, stated that the real problem facing the English was the nature of the Irish, who were uncivilised beings practised in treachery and murder for centuries. It was this cultivation of lawless behaviour which made them blind to the advantages offered by reconciliation with the English. David Hume, writing in the 18th century, described the 1641 rebellion in the following terms:

> After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty, and the most barbarous that ever, in an nation, was known or heard of, began its operations. An universal massacre commenced of the English, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman fate. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. The wife weeping for her butchered husband,

> and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished by the same stroke. (Hume quoted in Lebow 1973: 23)

Many writers suggested solutions for the problems Ireland presented. For example, Edmund Spenser (see Lebow 1973) thought that, although the Irish had been defeated at the end of Elizabeth's reign, they had not been subdued. What was required was the occupation of Ireland and the creation of 'protected hamlets' where the captured Irish would be given land to farm, educated in Christian values and protected from the vengeance of the remaining 'guerillas'. In return they would provide help and information. What did occur was the plantation of Ulster and the Cromwellian reconquest of Ireland. Throughout this period, and on during the 18th century, the descriptions of Ireland as uncivilised and the people as barbaric justified not only the initial invasion but continuing British supremacy in Ireland

In most of the accounts the superiority of England compared with Ireland was explicit. These works were exemplified by David Hume's two- volume history of England, published betweem 1754-57; going through 36 editions in the next one hundred years, it was unrivalled until Macaulay:

> The Irish from the beginning of time had been buried in the most profound barbarism and ignorance; and as they were never conquered or even invaded by the Romans, from whom all the Western world derived its civility, they continued still in the most rude state of society, and were distinguished by these vices alone to which human nature, not tamed by education, or restrained by laws, is for ever subject. (Hume quoted in Lebow 1973: 19)

Thus down through the centuries racist views of the inferiority of the Irish developed. These views were based, at first, on the evidence of the uncivilised and 'unchristian' religious practices of the Irish. They were reinforced by the perception of the Irish as the most debased people of the Celtic race, unable, because of the Irish national character, to embrace the

advantages of Protestantism and inherently given to violent and barbaric behaviour.

3. THE ORIGINS OF THE BRITISH NATIONAL STATE AND ANTI-CATHOLICISM

In this section the autonomous generation of anti-Catholicism within the context of the development of the British State will be examined. This forms the background to the later fusing of Irishness and Catholicism in public consciousness in Britain. The Reformation in England during the 16th century was the spearhead of English, later British, nationalism. It took place for both external and internal reasons. A monarchy, still precarious less than 50 years after the end of the Wars of the Roses, which had divided town against town and area against area, instituted the break with Rome. Elton (1955) has emphasised that the changes undertaken between 1533-36 were primarily a political and legal revolution rather than a religious one. He argues that the subjection of the Church formed the most striking, but not the sole, manifestation of a general policy designed to create the unitary realm of England under the legislative sovereignty of the King in Parliament.

The 16th century was a rare period in which England was without extensive overseas possessions, the main exception being Ireland. In the previous century England had been driven out of France and Henry VIII's attempts to restore English influence in Europe had met defeat. The break with Rome was for England an assertion of strength. One of the Acts of Parliament involved, the Act in Restraint of Appeals, 1533, declares in the preamble that 'This realm of England is an Empire'. Other measures in the 1530s pointed that way. The unification of Wales with England and the introduction of the English system of shire administration to Wales and Ireland quickly followed. The decade culminated with Henry VIII declaring himself King of Ireland in 1540. This was intended to extinguish any idea that Ireland was a papal patrimony (Hill 1969).

The Reformation and other administrative changes enabled the Tudors to quash the power of the feudal barons. All government became indisputably national. It was the gentry, their power and social significance based on

sheep farming and agricultural production for the market, who benefited. They purchased land released by the dissolution of the monasteries, and supported the national centralisation for which the Tudors stood because they hoped to secure the tenure of many minor offices: they became JPs, deputy lieutenants and civil servants. Thus the gentry had a vested interest in Protestantism. By the mid-17th century:

> ... the gentry became collectively as feudal baronage had been in the fifteenth century, able to claim privileges and powers for the House of Commons such as had previously been claimed for the House of Lords, it was too late for Stuart governments to reverse the process. (Hill 1969:31)

What emerged from the Civil War was a constitution and national identity which were based on the strengthened sovereignty of Parliament and Protestantism. All of these changes under the Tudors and the Stuarts were to perpetuate a religious significance down to modern times. The power of the Church was fatally undermined and henceforth derived from the Crown. A politicised religious identity was created: to be Anglican was to be English, the antithesis being Roman Catholicism. From this time onwards Catholicism was also a politicised religious identity.

Anti-Catholicism was fundamental to this process. As Clifton (1971) has pointed out, it is one of the best-known features of 17th century England but one of the least explored. Clifton demonstrates that anti-Catholicism was common to all social classes. He documents fear engendered by the suspicion of popish plots. This was based on the assumption that Catholics wished to change by force the Protestant character of the State. He persuasively argues that the national politics of the period (1640-60) were understood at a popular level in terms of a papist/anti-papist dichotomy instead of concerning personal liberty and security of property.

In 1641 a major rebellion against English rule took place in Ireland and subsequently the reconquest of Ireland was launched by Cromwell. The main characteristic of this reconquest was the policy of genocide pursued by Cromwell. Clifton states that among foreigners in England at this time the

most feared were the Irish and their presence, usually as migrants looking for work, was frequently the occasion for local areas to be swept by tales of invasions by murdering Irishmen. In the tumult of the English Revolution and its aftermath, fear of Catholicism was to be found in Puritan and Anglican, Parliamentarian and Royalist alike. This bond, despite vast differences, was symbolised in the Toleration Act of 1689, which recognised that radical Puritanism could not capture the Church of England (and therefore the Crown), but that it had come to stay and that Protestants of all kinds would combine against any resurgence of popery.

Those Catholics who avoided persecution, conversion or flight to the Continent remained as a constant reinforcement of that which was not English. The Act of Union in 1707 secured Scotland as part of the United Kingdom on the basis of guarantees for the Kirk. The Kirk was assured a permanent existence as the Church of Scotland, and came to serve as a focus of national sentiment. Protestantism was enshrined firmly as an essential strand of that which bound the British State, three nations, together.

Commenting on two and a half centuries of history following the Reformation Hill (1969) writes that:

> ... the existence of an internal (papist) as well as the neighbouring popish Irish, helped to bind Englishmen together in national unity. The struggle of pious Protestants to extend English religion and English civilization, first to the 'dark corners' of England and Wales, then to Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, was a struggle to extend the values of London, and so to reinforce England's national security. (Hill 1969: 42)

However, Hill sees this as being the case only up until the end of the 18th century, with the Gordon riots of 1780 being the last large-scale appearance of no-popery as a political force. As will be seen, anti-Catholicism was regenerated in the 19th century, expressed in new forms, donning different apparel, but ever present. As in the past, it was entwined with Anglo-Irish

relations but with an urgent specificity resulting from the 1801 Act of Union and the migration of many Irish people to Britain.

In summary, this section has pointed to the creation of politicised religious identities in the 16th century and to processes by which Protestantism became synonomous with the national identity in Britain. Protestantism was able to unite different nations and social classes against a common enemy, Catholicism. Catholic Ireland and the Irish came to symbolise the opposite of Britain and the British.

4. ANTI-CATHOLICISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY

By the early 19th century Ireland was the prime incarnation of the Catholic threat: the campaigns for Catholic emancipation and repeal of the Union constituted a threat to the basis of the State and its Protestant constitution. In this section, although no attempt will be made to provide a full-scale analysis of anti-Catholicism in the early 19th century, its parameters will be outlined. The response to Catholic emancipation, the early formation of Orange Lodges, and the manner in which the Tory party mobilised political support in the first half of the 19th century will be examined to illustrate this theme. These examples reveal the extent to which anti-Catholicism was ingrained amongst all social groupings and the manner in which it was intertwined with anti-Irish hostility.

4.1 CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

Concessions were made to Catholics in the late 18th century in a series of Relief Acts which extended their political rights. This legislation was passed under the pressure of war. First with the 13 colonies in North America, and then with France, each war situation had brought with it the attendant fear of Ireland as the weak link in Britain's security. In 1801, at the time of the Act of Union, promises regarding Catholic emancipation were made, only to be foiled by George III. The Relief Acts, therefore, had primarily represented attempts to secure Ireland in Britain's interests. They

did not herald the imminent demise of religious intolerance, although there were enlightenment pressures to that end. A distinction has to be made between Parliament and specific legislative action to protect the British State's interests and the sentiments of the populace at large. Gauging the demise of anti-Catholicism solely through legislative reform can be as misleading as presuming it is present only when anti-popery demonstrations are recorded.

As Norman (1968) has documented, Catholics in the first half of the 19th century continued to be regarded as guilty of superstitious beliefs, idolatrous worship and vile practices. In addition:

> Catholics were imagined to be potential - and sometimes (as in Ireland) even actual - subversives of the Protestant constitution. (Norman 1968: 15)

The cornerstone of this conception of the Protestant constitution was the religious establishment. Full Catholic emancipation was seen as undermining the indissoluble link between religious and secular concerns. Not only was the Church of England, with its established interests in Ireland, set against any further changes to the constitutional position of Catholics, but so also were extensive tracts of the Protestant revival.

Some Dissenters supported Catholic emancipation and saw the advantage of an alliance with the Catholics, given their coincident claims for the repeal of remaining restrictions on both denominations. Many Dissenters, despite this, thought the Test Acts should be repealed as regards every denomination but the Catholics. When a formal alliance between the Committee of the Three Denominations (Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian) and Daniel O'Connell, the leader of the Catholic Association in Ireland, was effected in 1828:

> The Evangelicized section of the Three Denominations, a majority by 1828, simply disgarded the commitment of their leaders and continued their attack on Catholics. (Hexter 1936: 305)

The main body of Evangelicals in the Church of England were also implacably opposed to Catholic emancipation, although those sitting in Parliament were split on the subject. The third body of the Protestant revival, the Methodists:

> distrusted the Catholics profoundly. Joseph Butterworth foremost lay Methodist...observed. 'The more I know of the Roman Catholics the more deeply I am convinced that to give them political power must inevitably lead to fatal results'. (Hexter 1936:307)

Amongst the Methodists there was complete unanimity on the question, whether it was the general opinion of the sect or of those voting in Parliament. Their opposition was such that they joined the die-hard Tories in an effort to swamp Parliament with an avalanche of petitions against Catholic emancipation.

This alliance combined together the lower-middle and working classes (Methodism was prominent among cobblers, tailors, hostlers, miners and weavers) with the likes of Irish landowners and people as diverse as Robert Southey, Samuel Coleridge, William Wordsworth and John Newman. As Hexter comments:

> When an old-style Anglican tenant farmer in Dorset or a new-style Methodist mill hand in Lancashire inveighed against villainous popery and the dirty Irish they were not expressing sentiments peculiar to any one religious sect or inherent in any single theological doctrine. They were giving vent to 'the radical and rooted antipathies' of the English masses. (Hexter 1936:319)

For the Protestant Tories and their representatives in the House of Lords, even the prospect of civil war paled before the necessity of defending a constitution which had attained its peculiar excellence only after a long, painful struggle with popery.

Best (1958) points out that these constitutional arguments were, in reality, complicated by the fact that the Roman Catholic question was largely an Irish question. The widespread belief that Catholic loyalty to the Crown was of doubtful reliability was overlaid with the fear of rebellion in Ireland. Eventually it was fear of rebellions and disorder in Ireland which united the Whig proponents of legislative change and many of their opponents in Parliament. Ireland had to be pacified and, faced with the mass mobilisations of the Catholic Association and with the threat of civil war looming, the usual military solution would not alone suffice. Catholics would have to be allowed access to Parliament, although it was accompanied by the disenfranchisement of all 40 shilling freeholders in Ireland, which secured the Irish landlords' interests for the time being. The Act also included a list of continuing restrictions on Catholics, which involved the preservation of certain hallowed aspects of the Protestant constitution. Thus the monarch, the Lord Chancellor and the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland had to be Protestant and Protestant churches remained well established in Britain and Ireland.

4.2 THE FORMATION OF ORANGE LODGES

The activities of the rank-and-file subscribers to the Protestant revival bear witness to this intertwining of religion and national identity, as does the spread of British Orange Lodges early in the 19th century. The exchange of Irish and English militia units in 1798 and the founding of Orange Lodges in British regiments serving in Ireland provided the means by which Orangeism took root in Britain. Subsequently lodges were founded particularly in a number of Lancashire towns. These at first served as clubs for the ex-soldiers but gradually began to include ordinary civilians. Orangemen, such as the Reverend Ralph Nixon, denied that they had views which were 'hostile and directed against papists. Orangemen are zealously attached to the King and admire our matchless constitution' (Senior 1966). Such presentiments provided a basis for support in Britain.

Orangeism, as it exists in Britain, is characterised as an Irish import, essentially uncharacteristic of the British. It did originate in Ireland, but among people who subscribed to being British and whose allegiance above all

was to the imperial parliament at Westminster. One of the very few chroniclers of Orangeism in Britain, Senior (1966), does indeed estimate that most of the men joining the early lodges were Irish Protestants formerly in the army or who had come to England or Scotland for work. However, it was as much the conditions they met in Britain which prompted their membership as the traditions they brought from Ireland. Belonging to an Orange Lodge was a means of distinguishing themselves from Irish Catholic migrants and the contempt in which they were held.

However, it is doubtful if Orangeism could have developed in the way it did (the full story of which has yet to be told) without the support of English and Scottish urban labourers whose hostility to Irish Catholics could find expression in these lodges. By 1822 Orangeism had taken root in most industrial areas in Britain. Its appeal to these working-class participants was no doubt complementary to the anti-Catholic messages received from the only other national organisation most would be in contact with: the Church, the sect or the itinerant preacher.

4.3 THE TORY PARTY AND ANTI-CATHOLIC AND ANTI-IRISH PROPAGANDA

It is clear, therefore, that for much of the wider populace the dichotomies of the 17th century were still resonant. As has been stressed in this account, anti-Catholicism did not give its last gasp with the Gordon riots but remained a cornerstone of English perceptions. The Tory Party's direct manipulation of anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish sentiment from the 1830s onwards not only fanned this in particular circumstances but depended upon anti-Catholicism as the base from which the party's attacks on the Whigs were launched. Cahill (1957), commenting on the anti-Catholic campaigns of the Tories in the mid-19th century, states that:

> Conservatism derived much of its appeal from the fact that conservatives linked their party ideology with British nationalism. Because of the close relationship between Protestantism and British nationalism, conservative leaders, by treating the Irish question as a religious one, could

> capitalize upon the emotional complex which influenced the public mind. By their manner of presenting the Irish question, they directed the patriotic sentiments and feelings of the nation in favour of the conservatives and against the Whigs, Liberals and Radicals... The fact that a No-Popery campaign based upon the Irish issue helped to unite the various interests within the Conservative party cannot be over-emphasized if the emotional force of Conservatism as an ideology is to be understood. (Cahill 1957:64)

In this sense, as O'Farrell (1975) has also pointed out, "'No-Popery' was available as a strategy because of the realities of British politics at the time. Anti-Catholicism could always unite substantial elements of both Anglicans and Dissenters, even though the latter had formed part of the support for Catholic emancipation. In fact, both liberals and radicals, among whom Dissenters figured highly, were always susceptible to the 'Irish question' being presented as a religious one:

> Not only might the fear of popery divide the forces of reform, but they might also be saddled with a reputation for compromise with Popery and for weakness in regard to preservation of the national traditions. (O'Farrell 1975:141)

Both middle-class and working-class radicals who, early in the century, had a fluctuating but often close relationship with Daniel O'Connell (for example, over the 1832 Reform Act) ultimately could not understand why he gave priority to the interests of Irish Catholic nationalism.

The integral relationship between anti-Catholicism and British nationalism is well illustrated by the way in which the 'No-Popery' tradition was extended overseas to Britain's colonies, for example, the United States of America, Canada and Australia, where British people and British institutions enabled its parallel development. Norman (1968) makes the point that British anti-Catholicism was unique, despite points of similarity with other

equivalent European expressions of anti-Catholicism. Norman argues that this was because it was peculiarly related to popularly subscribed precepts about the ends and nature of the British State. British anti-Catholicism was chauvinistic and almost general in the basis of its support. In contrast, European expressions of anti-Catholicism tended to represent varying class and regional discontents, and it was often inspired more by anti-clericalism than opposition to the doctrines of the Church.

The purpose of this section has been to demonstrate that there was neither a decline in anti-Catholicism after the Gordon riots in the 18th century nor a spontaneous resurfacing of it in 1850 with the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy. Anti-Catholicism continued to be significant in the 19th century as a means of unifying sections of the population with otherwise different interests by mobilising them for the nation and against Irish popery.

5. ANTI-IRISH RACISM IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The Victorian era was marked by the development of 'scientific' theories of 'race' which proved the inferiority of the colonised and the superiority of the colonizing nation. Anti-Irish sentiment from early on fuelled this process. Curtis (1971) charts how the 'science of man' (physiognomy) and the art of caricature, working both independently and at times together, helped to harden as well as perpetuate the stereotype of 'white Negroes', the simianised Celts.

Influential was Dr John Beddoe who, in the 1860s, developed an 'Index of Nigrescence' designed to quantify the amount of residual melanin in the skin or corium. This was a speciously scientific device which confirmed for the Victorians that Celts were considered darker or more melanous than those descended from Saxon or Scandinavian forbears. This put the finishing touches on the image of the Celtic Caliban incapable of appreciating Anglo-Saxon civilisation. The work of Beddoe and others:

> ... provided a scientific basis for assuming that such characteristics as violence, poverty, political volatility and drunkenness were inherently Irish and only Irish. (Curtis 1971:21)

These portrayals of the Irish were particularly intense and pervasive in penny comic weeklies (for example Punch, Judy, Tomahawk) during the 1860s and 1880s, respectively marked by Fenian and Land League political activity.

For example, the Irish living in British cities were cited as evidence of the 'missing link' between the gorilla and the Negro:

> A gulf, certainly does appear to yawn between the Gorilla and the Negro. The woods and wilds of Africa do not exhibit an example of any intermediate animal. But in this, as in many other cases, philosophers go vainly searching abroad for that which they would readily find if they sought for it at home. A creature manifestly between the Gorilla and the Negro is to be met within some of the lowest districts of London and Liverpool by adventurous explorers. It comes from Ireland, whence it has continued to migrate; it belongs in fact to a tribe of Irish savages: the lowest species of the Irish Yahoo. When conversing with its kind it talks a sort of gibberish. It is, moreover, a climbing animal, and may sometimes be seen ascending a ladder laden with a load of bricks. The Irish Yahoo generally confines itself within the limits of its own colony, except when it goes out of them to get its living. Sometimes, however, it sallies forth in states of excitement, and attacks civilised human beings that have provoked its fury. The somewhat superior ability of the Irish Yahoo to utter articulate sounds, may suffice to prove that it is a development, and not, as some imagine, a degeneration of the Gorilla. (Punch 1862 quoted in Curtis 1971:100)

These popular transcriptions of the tenets of 'physiognomy' locate the Irish at the bottom of the ascent of man between the gorilla and the Negro. The poverty and type of manual labour which their lives required the Irish in Britain to undertake become the proof of their savagery: a savagery supposedly confirmed by observations about the Irish propensity for uncontrollable violence.

A common stereotype in cartoons and doggerel of the day was of the stupidity of the Irish. The inherent stupidity of the Irish was held to account for their willingness to live by superstition and the advice of Catholic priests. The theme of Irish stupidity was not restricted to comments about the Catholicism of the Irish, it had been a particular feature of English literature and drama since the 16th century. From Shakespeare's depiction of the Irish as 'rough rug-headed kerns' to the stage Irishman of the 19th century, the continuing theme was of the stupidity of the Irish and of them as an object of derision.

The central idea of the racial superiority of the English, compared with the racial inferiority of the Irish, pivoted on the inferiority of the national character of the Irish compared with that of the English/British. Dichotomies of race and nationality were constantly conflated as in this quotation from Frazer's Magazine, a popular middle-class journal, in 1847:

> The English people are naturally industrious - they prefer a life of honest labour to one of idleness. They are a persevering as well as energetic race, who for the most part comprehend their own interests perfectly and sedulously pursue them. Now of all the Celtic tribes, famous everywhere for their indolence and fickleness as the Celts everywhere are the Irish are admitted to be the most idle and most fickle. They will not work if they can exist without it. (quoted in Lebow 1976: 40)

Here the mark of superiority of the English is their natural industry compared with the idleness of the Irish as a race.

Predominant amongst the stereotypes circulating about the Irish in the 19th century, however, were those that accounted for Irish inferiority in terms of the Irish propensity for violence. This assessment of how to deal with the Irish in Britain was recommended by The Times in 1846:

> To Englishmen a vigour beyond the constitution is an odious thing... it seems unkind and unjust to recommend for Irishmen a policy that would be scouted for ourselves. But we must be ruled by circumstances. If crimes are un-English - if English means of detecting and punishing them fail, why should not an un-English power be exercised in districts where violence and murder stalk un-avenged and unchecked. (quoted in Lebow 1976: 67)

In these ways conceptions of the Irish as an 'inferior race', with a fundamentally flawed character, came to preoccupy public consciousness. The wide gulf which was deemed to exist between the Irish and the British could justify any measures to deal with 'The Irish Problem'.

Unlike other peoples, their inferiors, the British were seen to have derived their civilisation from the impact of such influences as the Roman conquest. The national characteristics which separated the British and raised them above the people they colonised - their economic pre-eminence, Christianity (Protestantism) and 'way of life' - always hinged on the proof of difference. The centuries-long depictions of the Irish amount to a racist catalogue of differences.

6. CONCLUSION

Studies of racism in Britain which examine anti-Irish racism remain the exception. However, in the words of one contributor:

> The racialisation of the Irish is of interest not simply because it suggests that we must not restrict the application of the concept of racism to situations where

> persons distinguish one another by reference to skin colour. Rather, what is of prime importance... is that, by reference to the empirical example of the experience of the Irish in Britain, I want to show that we should structure our analysis of situations involving relations between persons and groups who identify themselves and others as 'races' by reference to political economy. (Miles 1982: 121)

Given the tendency in present debates on 'race' to reduce all to issues of colour these are salient points to make. However, what Miles does is promote a theory which locates racism as a by-product of capitalist development, something that the arrival of migrant workers in the Metropolis generates. For Miles, therefore, racism is a secondary aspect of the class struggle. Segregated workplaces and racist or sectarian riots are viewed by Miles as distractions in terms of the real battle order of the day, class struggle. This rather restricted reification of class ignores the complex processes which are the basis of class formation.

Migrant labour, anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish sentiments all predate the emergence of capitalism. The argument here is not that they continued untrammelled into the age of imperialism but that these characteristics of pre-capitalism were inevitably integral to the development of capitalist social relations in Britain. Although colonial racism and the ideology of the nation state are separately generated, they became potently linked in the 19th century. A monolithic nationalism emerged, able to combine people across class boundaries by the beginning of this century. Anderson (1983), in a singular study of nationalism, argues that colonial racism was a major element in that conception of 'Empire' which attempted to weld dynastic legitimacy and national community. Colonial racism generalised a principle of innate, inherited superiority, thus conveying the idea that if, for example, English lords were naturally superior to other Englishmen, this did not matter because other Englishmen were no less superior to the subjected natives in the colonies.

What has been argued in this chapter is that, at one and the same time, these allusions were able to bind together not only class to class but sect to

church and periphery to centre. By the 19th century, colonial racism and the convictions of the Protestant constitution combined to cement the federated state. Due to their differing national aspirations and different religion it was not to prove possible to cohere the Catholic Irish to the United Kingdom on the same basis.

To be a Catholic or to be a Protestant was not only to be infused with a religious identity but was also to be politically constituted. The political identity that accompanied a particular religious affirmation was a national identity. Protestantism was the basis of the Union of England and Wales with Scotland, and Catholicism from the 16th century onwards was synonymous with 'the enemy'. The 19th century was a critical period because of the transformation of social relations caused by the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation. This produced new class forces and new class alliances. An important element in the situation was the existence of large numbers of Irish labour migrants in Britain looking for work to escape the economic devastation which faced them in Ireland. The point of this chapter has been to demonstrate that Irish migrants came to a society in which notions about 'Irish Catholics' were already constituted as significant constructs of British national identity. It is useful to turn at this point to consideration of the circumstances of Irish migration to Britain in the 19th century.

CHAPTER TWO

IRISH MIGRATION AND THE BRITISH ECONOMY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the concentration will be on the Irish as labour migrants and the prime focus is the 19th century. The intention is to outline the reasons why there was massive Irish migration and why Irish labour was a structural necessity for the British economy. To begin with, the chapter explores the close structural relationship between economic development in Britain and economic underdevelopment in Ireland The next section examines the demography of Irish migration. In the following section the chief areas of employment of Irish migrants in 19th-century Britain are outlined and the basis of the structural importance of Irish migrant labour for agricultural and industrial development is examined.

2. MIGRATION AND THE ECONOMIC UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF IRELAND

2.1 MIGRATION FROM IRELAND BEFORE THE UNION

From the 17th century onwards the development of Ireland was primarily conditioned by the demands of the British economy. Policies of repression pursued in the name of 'security' always had their economic undertow. Rebellion, suppression and confiscation were the pattern of the centuries of colonial rule prior to 1800. For example, in the mid-17th century the brutal Cromwellian reconquest occurred after the Irish rebellion of 1642. The consequence of this was that:

> In the South the land was seized by English landlords who often remained in England while mainly Scottish presbyterian and protestant settlers were brought to Ulster to establish a new agricultural structure based on small scale commodity production. This replaced the existing structure of communally based subsistence farming and attempts were made to drive the indigenous population into the more remote Western areas. (Perrons 1978: 4)

There were two further rebellions in Ireland in the 17th century which culminated in the defeat of James II by William of Orange in 1789.

After this victory the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland was secured with the passage of the Penal Laws:

> ... the confiscation which followed the war reduced Catholic land ownership to a new low to about one fifteenth of the total land in Ireland... the anti-popery laws of 1704 made it illegal for land to pass into Catholic hands, and placed a thirty-one year limit on any lease of land. These same laws also excluded Catholics from parliament, from the army, the militia and the civil service, and from municipal corporations and the legal profession. (Probert 1978: 21)

This produced a Catholic tenantry with short-term leases and no opportunity for their children to inherit land and an increase in the number of landless labourers and subsistence farmers. Large amounts of the rent collected were exported to the absent landlords, a process which was a major contribution to British capitalisation of the period (Gibbon 1975: 133).

The 18th century saw the first substantial migration of Irish people to Britain. Although there is evidence of Irish labourers travelling through Britain looking for work as early as the 13th century, only small numbers settled before this time (Collins 1976: 38). In 1727 and 1739-41 there were severe famines in Ireland. The latter killed one-sixth of the population (Gibbon 1975: 131). Each swelled the numbers crossing to Britain for work.

Irish harvesters visited Britain from at least the early 18th century and were numerous in the Home Counties and north-west England before 1750 (Collins 1976: 49). By the end of the century there were distinct, if small, Irish areas in cities like London and Liverpool (Jackson 1963).

Probert (1978) describes how, by the second half of the 18th century, there was a growing class of indigenous manufacturers and traders in Ireland whose interests were in direct conflict with Britain's mercantilist policies. This included both Irish Catholic merchants (trade was not affected by the Penal Laws) and Protestant landowners and industrialists. Under pressure, due to the American War of Independence, the Westminster parliament was forced to make them two concessions. In 1772 a section of the Penal Code was repealed, enabling Catholics in Ireland to take leases for life or a fixed term up to 999 years, and to inherit and bequeath land on the same terms as Protestants.

Ten years later, in 1782, Grattan's parliament was established as a further concession. This Irish ascendancy parliament, all of whose members were Protestant, acquired some independent legislative powers and introduced certain protective tariffs. With the continued growth in demand for Ireland's agricultural products (especially during the Napoleonic Wars) and the introduction of industrial techniques to the manufacturing process, this ensured that the last two decades were relatively prosperous for the Irish bourgeoisie. It is this which led to the rebellion in 1798 of the United Irishmen (Perrons 1978).

The rebellion of the United Irishmen involved the Protestant middle classes, especially the manufacturers in Belfast, who were opposed to the limitations of their parliament. In alliance with the Catholic merchants they led the rebellion at the end of the century. In this they were able to engage the support of much of the peasantry, some of whose discontent at the overwhelming burden of rent, taxes and tithes and whose opposition to the spread of enclosures had already been expressed in the formation of secret societies. The Whiteboys in the South organised the breaking down of boundaries on enclosed land. The Oakboys in the North were concerned with the regulation of tithes and rents.

After the rebellion had been crushed Ireland was forcibly united with Britain through the Act of Union in 1801. This legislation was not only aimed at securing Ireland after the 1798 rebellion but also had clear economic motives. The concern that lay behind the Act is expressed in the following submission of an under-secretary to Prime Minister Pitt a year before the Act became law:

> By giving the Irish a hundred members in an Assembly of six hundred and fifty, they will be impotent to operate that Assembly, but it will be invested with Irish assent to its authority... The Union is the only answer to preventing Ireland becoming too great and powerful. (Hechter 1975:73)

This suggests that systematic subordination of Ireland's resources to Britain's prosperity and growth was to be an important part of the policy of the Union.

2.2 MIGRATION AND THE ECONOMIC UNDERDEVELOPMENT OF IRELAND IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Changes in the nature of and the relationship between the agricultural productive forces in Ireland and Britain occurred during the first part of the 19th century (Perrons 1978). After the Napoleonic Wars British demand shifted away from corn towards animal products. This was responded to first in the central and eastern counties of Ireland with a high number of enclosures in the early part of the century. In other areas arable farming increased until the 1830s. The structure of agriculture in Ireland entailed that, alongside commercial farming, there was a subsistence sector. This facilitated the exploitation of the low cost of the reproduction of labour.

> Wage costs were almost eliminated by employing workers whose subsistence needs were met largely from their own labour on pre-existing or specially created dwarf-holdings. (Gibbon 1975:134)

These were the 'potato plots' upon which most of the Irish peasantry depended for their existence. The peasantry were divided into two main groupings. Some were small tenant farmers who rented their family farm or plot from an absentee landlord or middleman. Others were working tenants or cottiers whose plot was in lieu of wages, they worked out their rent on the landlord's land.

For most Irish peasants the potato was the subsistence crop. Its bounty was due to the fact that it increased the supply of food available in terms of calories and nutrition, it could be cultivated on land not suitable for other crops and it had an important role in crop rotation The peasantry were extremely vulnerable to its failure. One of the consequences of the the rise in population after 1741 and the relaxation of the Penal Code was that the Irish tended to marry younger, have more children (increasing the labour available to the family economy) and subdivide their land to pass on. The potato made the latter possible because of its higher yield per acre compared with any other crop.

After the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 the situation of the peasantry materially worsened. The price of corn fell while rents continued to rise. It was, therefore, very difficult for the small tenant farmers to pay their rent as corn was the chief cash crop. Evictions frequently followed and the opportunity was frequently seized by landlords to consolidate farm size and switch to cattle and dairy production. The tenants became landless labourers. This process reached dramatic proportions in the 1840s. (Perrons 1978)

The period before then was one of increasing migration. The ranks of casual labourers were further swollen by the famines which took place between 1816 and 1842 (Gibbon 1975). These were often caused by the partial failure of the potato crop and forced many to give up their holdings and travel for work. Others, especially in the West, where not much else except the subsistence economy existed, became seasonal migrants in order to pay the rent. These were hard decisions to make, not choices, the evidence is that all means were employed by the Irish to retain their land (Lees 1976).

Forced migration prior to the 1840s was not solely produced by changes in agriculture. The decline of Irish industry, with the exception of linen and shipbuilding, was relentless. In broad terms British capital became available only for those investments which complemented existing British industries. British control of banking legislation led to the restriction of the Bank of Ireland to within 50 miles of Dublin. This weakened Dublin's importance in the Irish economy to the advantage of British industrial centres (Davies 1978). The decline of the textile industry was brought about by the lowering of protective tariffs after the Union and their subsequent abolition in 1824. The immiseration and ultimately elimination of the handloom weavers followed, first in the South then the North East. In effect, laissez-faire economic policies were replacing the overt discrimination of the Penal Laws as the instrument of policy in Ireland, with even more catastrophic results for the Irish.

The 1840s saw the single biggest outflow of people from Ireland in one decade:

> In the decade 1841-1851 alone the population of Ireland decreased by 1,659,330. 1¼ million people left Ireland, perhaps as many as 700,000 died in Ireland from want and disease. A further 1,149,118 people left the country between 1851 and 1861. In all the total population declined from 8,175,124 in 1841 to 5,764,543 in 1861. (Lawton 1959: 35)

This was all triggered by the Great Starvation of 1845-48, so called to reflect the policies pursued by the British government during its course. Free-trade interests grasped the opportunity to repeal the Corn Laws. This meant that the Irish peasantry received less money for their corn (which did not fail) and so could not pay their rent. If they did not starve because of the failure of the subsistence crop they were evicted for non-payment of rent. Throughout the three-year period more food was exported from Ireland to Britain than was required to feed the total Irish population. Perrons (1978) argues that the whole process was advantageous to the British and Irish aristocracy, who were able to maintain their rental incomes by converting land to pasture, while the capitalist class was able to secure meat and wool at the

cheapest prices. The reduction in population provided 'security' for the capital invested in Ireland by both classes.

In the aftermath of the famine three main groups continued to have little choice but emigration:

> ... the cottiers who, after the potato blight could no longer expect to survive on the produce of a tiny potato garden; the farm workers who could no longer find regular employment from landlords and commercial farmers intent on converting labour-intensive tillage into pasturage,... those left destitute as a result of the rapidly changing structure of industry in the north of Ireland. (Fitzpatrick 1980:127)

2.3 SUMMARY

The subversion of Ireland's economic development to Britain's gain involved the production of agricultural commodities for British markets. At the beginning of the 18th century 90 per cent of Britain's population were engaged in agriculture. By the 1840s this had declined to approximately 20 per cent and to ten per cent by 1881 (Kennedy 1972). At the same time, whenever production in Ireland threatened British products, it was effectively curtailed The impact of this process was to distort the development of the Irish economy so that certain sectors were severely hampered while others developed either because they posed no threat (the linen industry) or as a response to restrictions (shipbuilding).

In this section the examination of Irish migration highlights the close structural relationship between economic developments in Britain and their reverberations in Ireland. The industrial and agricultural developments in Britain which required extra labour, often of a seasonal nature, and food were an integral aspect of those social and economic forces which constrained Ireland to be a peripheral adjunct of Britain It is these processes which produced a 'surplus population' in Ireland and the highest rates of migration in western Europe. Even if, for many migrants, the move was economically

beneficial, the heritage of forced migration remained inevitably intertwined in the constructions of their cultural identity and political affiliations in the country in which they settled. The specificity of this experience for the Irish in Britain is the concern of this thesis.

3. IRISH MIGRATION TO BRITAIN IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Ireland was the site of an inexorable rise in population throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. A population of 2,500,000 in 1700 had risen to 8,175,000 in 1841 (O'Hanlon 1976:117). 1841 formed the apex for population growth after which an equally relentless decline set in. The population had contracted to 6,500,000 by 1851 and a hundred years later was more than halved at 3,500,000 (O'Farrell 1971:111). This was primarily due to the migration of the Irish from their homeland.

The migration was of such a devastating effect that, as Brown (1981) points out, by the time the Twenty-Six Counties gained their independence, 43 per cent of Irish-born men and women were living abroad. Ireland stands in marked contrast to other west european countries with a history of substantial emigration. In 1921 the comparative figures for Norway, Scotland and Sweden were respectively 14.8 per cent, 14.1 per cent and 11.2 per cent of native born living abroad (Brown 1981:20). Fifty years later for the Irish the situation was not very different, as O'Hanlon (1976) notes:

> About half of those now living who were born in Ireland live abroad. (O'Hanlon 1976:123)

In 1974 23 per cent of the Republic's population were living in Britain. According to the United States Census of 1970 there were one and a half million Irish born living in America. This was more than half the resident population of the Republic at the time (O'Hanlon 1976). The calls for the young to see emigration as the solution to chronic unemployment still go out today.

This sustained evacuation has been a decisive influence on the development of modern Ireland and it has been the definitive experience for those who migrated:

> For both Irishmen and Irishwomen emigration became an expected episode in the life cycle, akin to marriage or inheritance. (Fitzpatrick 1980: 126)

Inevitably the direction and fortunes of the Irish migrants differed both from those left behind and according to which country they settled in.

The numbers of Irish who emigrated to Britain and the size of the Irish population in Britain have been consistently underestimated. This has been due to a number of factors. Principal amongst these has been Ireland's unique situation as a colony immediately to the west and in political union with Britain. Geographical proximity facilitated both the importation and deportation of labour, while the political union enabled unobstructed state intervention or non-intervention (equally significant) to shape the conditions in which that movement took place. An examination of the ramifications of these contexts for migration will explain why there has been under-recording of the Irish population.

O'Grada (1975), in his examination of Irish emigration statistics, concludes that the Registrar General's figure of four million Irish emigrants between 1852 and 1911 was incorrect and that it was nearer five million. Emigration to Britain, instead of making up one-eighth of the total, was probably between one-fifth and one-quarter. As to why so many emigrants to Britain escaped the enumerators, O'Grada suggests that:

> Perhaps movements to Britain were less easy to keep track of; perhaps police and the Registrar General attached less importance to them. They were, after all, merely internal movements within the United Kingdom at that time. (O'Grada 1975: 147)

The volume of the traffic at certain junctures also undoubtedly accounts for some under-recording.

For example, in the late 1840s the volume of traffic from Ireland to Liverpool rendered accurate record keeping secondary. Woodham-Smith (1965) recounts that Dr Swift, medical officer to one of the dockside districts of Liverpool, in 1847 described the number of Irish paupers as 'baffling all calculation'. Liverpool was the chief destination as the city received more sailings from Ireland than any other port. The few shillings necessary for the trip were often provided by the landlords as the cost of emigrating a pauper was generally about half the cost of maintaining one in the workhouse for a year (Woodham-Smith 1965: 223).

It seems likely that there was under-recording in the Census. On the one hand, the census-taking of the period was erratic. On the other hand, the motivation to avoid the Census lay in the Act of Parliament passed in mid-1847 which provided for municipal authorities to send Irish paupers back to Ireland with the minimum of legal formality and delay (Woodham-Smith 1965. 275) There is no restriction today under the immigration laws on the entry of citizens of the Irish Republic. As Coleman (1983) comments, the Irish feature in the International Passenger Survey tabulations only in so far as they arrive in England through an international airport or seaport. The direct routes to Ireland, including the border with Northern Ireland, are not covered by this survey or by immigration control. Therefore the figures published relating to Ireland are meaningless as an indication of migration flows between the two countries.

Given these provisos it is with caution that the statistics available on the Irish in Britain have always had to be treated. The likelihood must be that the real number is greater than the official statistics reveal. It would follow that the Irish and their descendants have formed a larger proportion of the population than has previously been allowed for. In view of the fact that Irish migrants have always been concentrated in specific areas, this has correspondingly more significance for cities like Liverpool and London than elsewhere. Before 1841, only local estimates exist as to the size of the Irish population in Britain. It was not until then that a question relating

to place of birth was introduced into the Census. These early calculations reveal a pattern of Irish settlement which was to be dominant throughout the 19th century. The heaviest concentrations were in south-west Scotland, Lancashire and London. There were 25,000 Irish Catholics in Glasgow in 1821, while 1825 saw 35,000 in Manchester and 24,000 in Liverpool (Jackson 1963).

The 1841 Census recorded a total of 400,000 Irish, forming 1.8 per cent of the population in England and Wales and 4 8 per cent in Scotland. By 1861 the Irish were 3 per cent in the former and 6.2 per cent in the latter. According to the figures available, this period was the time when the Irish formed their largest proportion of the population in Britain (Jackson 1963). The Census statistics are also not very reliable. For example, Irish people in particular may not be revealed in the Census due to their mobility, homelessness and fear of deportation. Also the Census gives no indication of second and subsequent generations, there being no question on parental birthplace until 1971. This limits its usefulness for most of the period under review as an indicator of the size of the Irish communities in Britain. Estimates for the total Irish population, therefore, remain imprecise.

The migrants were also a more sizeable proportion of the labour force than is generally recognized. They were mostly young and single or else families with at least one child of working age. Consequently nearly all Irish migrants worked. Lobban's (1971) description of the Irish community in Greenock illustrates these points:

> ... by 1841, 4,307 of the inhabitants or 11.7 per cent of the town's population, were natives of Ireland. The numbers of Irish in Greenock rose steadily to a maximum of 10,717 (16.1 per cent) in 1881...
>
> Prominent as the Irish were in the general population of Greenock in the nineteenth century, their presence was even more marked among the town's labour force with some 22.6 per cent of the male workers over 14 in 1851 and 20.9 per cent in 1891 being of Irish origin. (Lobban 1971:270)

This pattern was replicated in other areas of Irish settlement and further emphasises the relative visibility of the Irish in this period.

This section has demonstrated the massive impact that sustained emigration has had on Ireland by an examination of demographic statistics. The demography of Irish migration illustrates that the extent of Irish migration to Britain has been greater than often assumed. The statistical data also indicate that, because of the pattern of settlement and the age structure of the migrants, the Irish were 'visible' in 19th-century Britain.

4 THE STRUCTURAL IMPORTANCE OF IRISH LABOUR FOR BRITISH ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE 19TH CENTURY

In this section the intention is to demonstrate the structural importance of Irish labour and indicate the material basis of Irish 'visibility' in the 19th century. What has been stressed throughout this account is that the Irish were forced labour migrants. What was new about Irish migration in the 19th century was the numbers involved and the greater likelihood of its being a permanent emigration. The forces which were transforming the conditions of agriculture in Britain and producing a requirement for large numbers of unskilled manual workers, both to construct a communications system and work in multifarious ways in the growing urban areas, were those that were decimating the Irish textile industry and conforming Irish agriculture to British needs. This, as has been described, produced a surplus population, many of whom crossed to England, Scotland or Wales for work.

If the changes occurring in Britain are examined more closely, the extent to which Irish labour was essential for the profitability of capital will become clear. In the new era of industrial production initiated by the transformation of the cotton industry, the whole basis of life in Britain was altered. The sustained period of growth from the late 18th century onwards required a mass labour force of 'free' workers who were unskilled and prepared to work for low wages. This early period of industrial capital was characterised by the Combination Acts, to restrain trade unionism, and the

absence of enforcement of early factory legislation. Competition between workers was consequently intense. The cheapest labour was that which occasioned the greatest profitability. In circumstances where capital accumulation on the basis of low wage labour was sufficient to generate further expansion, without recourse to capital finance from elsewhere, the existence of a 'reserve army of labour' or 'surplus population' was a structural requirement (Hobsbawn 1970). It contributed to the undercutting of wages in some situations but was hired as much for its mobility as its cheapness in other circumstances.

There were a number of sources of such surplus labour populations: those thrown into unemployment by the cyclical crisis of capital; urban migration from the countryside; women and children; and overwhelmingly the convulsions taking place in Ireland. In the first half of the 19th century the Irish migrants fell into three broad categories: seasonal agriculture workers; temporary migrants in Britain for an unspecified period, often en route for America (navvies were often, though not necessarily, in this category); and longer-term migrants who mostly headed for the urban areas in the hope of steady work. There was often considerable overlap between these categories. Many seasonal harvesters would prolong their stay if work was available, while frequently handloom weavers or navvies would turn to argricultural labour in periods of scarce work and hardship. As the century progressed there was a greater tendency for those in the first two categories to settle more permanently.

4.1 SEASONAL HARVESTERS

One of the most typical sights in numerous agricultural areas throughout much of the last century was the arrival of Irish harvesters. Changes in agricultural production since 1750 had increased the reliance on the hired day labourer. For example, the threshing machine was in common use by 1830. The disproportion between summer and winter work became greater, as the winter occupation of threshing could now be accomplished in a short time after the harvest. This reduced the number of regular workers required and necessitated seasonal labourers at harvest time. As Collins (1976) outlines, there were

many advantages to seasonal labour migrants. Apart from accommodating seasonal work peaks, the labour migrants were removable, they and not the indigenous populations bore the greater brunt of unemployment. Further they were employed in tasks where the marginal productivity of labour was relatively high. In corn harvesting, more than any other task that which the Irish were hired for, shortages of labour could seriously reduce production, through shedding or spoiling.

Although farmers could draw on a large shifting population which, in the early industrial period, shuttled backwards and forwards between the main centres of population looking for work (gypsies, navvies, etc), there were three regular seasonal migrations between one agricultural area and another. Of these the:

> quantitatively most important movement was that between the small-farm subsistence and large-farm capitalist sectors of British agriculture ....the outstanding source area was the 'Celtic fringe' - the Scottish Highlands, the Welsh hill country, and above all, Western Ireland... of the Celtic migrations that of the Irish was unquestionably the most important, because of its volume, and because it endured longer than other migrant flows, many of which it replaced. (Collins 1976: 45)

These Irish harvesters took three main routes to Britain. From Munster they travelled via Cork to Bristol or south Wales and then made their way through all the counties between Gloucester and Middlesex or branched northwards to the West Midlands. Those who landed at Liverpool had usually completed an arduous journey on foot from Connaught to Dublin, they then continued by the same means to areas like Lincolnshire via Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. The other strand were those migrants from Donegal, Derry and Tyrone who went to Scotland, where they moved right across southern Scotland, often as far as Northumberland (Redford 1926: 145).

It was during the shortage of labour caused by the Napoleonic Wars that the numbers of Irish harvesters in Britain began to increase rapidly. From 1816 onwards, with the advent of the steamship, it became easier and cheaper to cross to Britain because competition between the shipping companies brought the fares down. Travellers often came free as ballast in returning colliers (Redford 1926:145). The number of seasonal migrants coming across climbed steadily with a temporary shortfall in the early 1830s. In 1841, according to the Census, 57,651 Irish harvesters entered Britain, about half of whom were from Connaught (Kerr 1938:372). This figure is almost certainly an underestimate, the Census was taken at the wrong time of year for an accurate estimate of harvesters (Collins 1976:50).

For example, Barber (1982) has described the importance of Irish labour to agriculture in Lincolnshire, where their numbers reached 'a staggering 50,000 in 1851'; drainage schemes commenced at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the completion of enclosures transformed the fens into one of the greatest corn growing areas of the east of England. This all necessitated vast numbers of extra labourers at harvest time, especially in a good year (Barber 1982.10). This suggests the scale of the annual movement from the west of Ireland and the extent to which farmers in Britain relied on Irish seasonal labour.

Collins (1976) points out that the productivity of migrant labour generally is higher than that of resident labour because of its greater mobility, more selective deployment and specialised skills. The crucial test for the capitalist was that the addition to real product be greater than the migrant's share of real income and of public expenditure. For the farmers in the 19th century the costs of employing Irish immigrants were low. they lived rough on the farms or in cheap lodgings; when not in employment they tended to congregate in nearby towns and therefore were not applying for poor relief in rural areas; and there was no necessity to guarantee them employment at less busy times of the year.

However, Collins is concerned to emphasise the complementary nature of this seasonal push-pull movement of population and outlines the benefit for the migrants themselves:

> The money thus obtained was used to pay the rent, settle old debts, and meet winter expenses... seasonal migration was a means of optimizing output and income at little or no capital investment cost to the source economy... the alternative, a much higher rate of permanent migration, would only have transferred the problem elsewhere, to the towns and cities of the host economy, where it would have increased social and overhead expemditure without a commensurate growth in employment or productivity in agriculture or industry. (Collins 1976.53)

What this ignores is that these Irish harvesters were what Marx referred to as a 'latent population'. They were called into labour for cash and then sent back to peasant production to survive. The cash, used for paying the rent, circulated from one fraction of capital to another.

So, while the farmers in Britain were spared the costs of reproducing the labour of the seasonal harvester from western Ireland, Irish landlords were able to maintain rents at an artificially high level.

> As long as there was an open market for Irish labour in England, the certainty of obtaining their rents relieved the landlords in the West of Ireland from the responsibility of making those improvements which would have increased employment... The annual migration benefited the landowning classes of both countries. In one it was the means of keeping the rents above the value of the land, and in the other it supplied the farmer with the labour for which he was often in sore need. (Kerr 1938:379)

It was the miles of tramping, the careful timing of arrival to catch a sequence of harvests from southern England northwards, and the rigorous efforts to save as much as possible expended by the Irish harvesters which facilitated the landowners of both countries.

The general assessment of Irish seasonal migration is that it reached its high point around 1850 and thereafter declined dramatically, especially in southern England (see Redford 1926, Collins 1976). Although over the whole century the numbers did decline, this was not a uniform process. As late as 1900 there were still 32,000 harvesters migrating to Britain for the season. Morgan (1982) shows that in the late 1860s the Irish were still active in the north Midlands and East Anglia, while Barber (1982) traces the continued significance of Irish migrants in Lincolnshire well into the 20th century However, by the 1880s:

> ... the weight of evidence suggests that the main body of Irish no longer travelled further south than Warwickshire and north Cambridgeshire in any numbers and sought and found harvest work mainly in the northern half of England. (Morgan 1982: 82)

The 1860s and 1870s were probably the peak period for the use of Irish agricultural labour in the northern counties. In Scotland the number of seasonal harvesters did noticeably decline, from 36,514 in 1841 to 3,771 in 1880 (Morgan 1982: 82). This was partly explained by this being the one area of Britain where Irish migrants settled to permanent agricultural work in appreciable numbers.

As Morgan details, these changes and the overall decline were taking place at a time when in Ireland the population was declining, there were actually shortages of labour in parts of Munster, and also when increasing numbers of migrants were diverted into non-agricultural work. One consequence of these changes was that the introduction of harvesting machinery was accelerated, especially in the southern counties of England. As Collins shows, interpretations which see the use of cheap labour as restraining the further 'modernisation' of capitalist agricultural production are misconstrued. Threshers, horse-hoes and reapers were introduced earliest and spread most rapidly in areas which depended most heavily on migrant labour. There were two reasons for this. Any reduction in the number of seasonal workers was an incentive to mechanisation, especially as this occurred in the 1850s after the labour glut of 1840s. Contrarily, the presence of migrant

labour also encouraged mechanisation. There was less objection from the indigenous workforce to the introduction of labour-saving machinery if all it was replacing was Irish labour (Collins 1976).

Mechanisation was only ever partial and seasonal labour continued to be necessary in tasks such as turnip singling, potato planting, hop and fruit picking and market-garden work. Indeed, long after the reaping machine was, in general use some farmers still reserved their most difficult strands of wheat for Irish sickles. Ironically, after 1870 the Irish, often despised in the past for their preference for the sickle over all other implements, were the only labour who could be relied upon to do a cheap and efficient job with hand tools. In the Lothians until the 1890s, and in the East Anglian Fens up to and beyond the First World War, they were employed when the corn was too laid and twisted to be cut by machine (Collins 1976).

The intention here has been to indicate not only the structural importance of Irish agricultural labour but also the complex nature of its movements and concentrations. There was little that was arbitrary about this on the part of the farmers or harvesters. Irish migrants were both necessary to ensure profit margins and, being integral to the farming enterprise, had specific effects, for example, influencing the pace of mechanisation. The point is not that capitalist agriculture would have developed differently without Irish labour but rather that it depended on this labour in the first place. This was true in different areas at different times. This is a necessary strand in understanding why capitalist social relations developed as and when they did in Britain. It is also clear that as a result of these seasonal movements the Irish had a presence in many areas of Britain not usually associated with Irish migration.

4.2 IRISH INDUSTRIAL LABOUR

The contribution of Irish labour to industrialisation in Britain was also considerable. Most of the occupations of Irish employment were characterised by their casualness and unskilled or semi-skilled nature. Many of the occupations were 'heavy, dangerous, seasonal and prone to sudden

termination' (Miles 1982:130). The perennial condition of the casual worker is irregular patterns of employment. Their underemployment was reflected in 'sharp and quite arbitrary fluctuations in the length of the working week' and by a consequent shortfall in their overall income (Treble 1979:55). The concentration of the Irish in this particular pool of labour is undeniable.

For example, in London in 1851 Lees has shown that:

> a majority of employed Londoners held skilled jobs and only 11 per cent belonged to the ranks of the unskilled, among the Irish these proportions were reversed Over 50 per cent of the employed Irish held unskilled jobs in the five parishes sampled and only 20 per cent had skilled occupations. Moreover, most of this latter group worked as sweated tailors or shoemakers, having only nominal status as artisans. (Lees 1979.98)

Although some Irish were in almost every London industry, they were heavily concentrated in a few trades, in occupations that placed most of them among the lowest social and economic groups. Two-thirds of Irishmen were employed in just three areas: construction, transport and general labouring. Irish women, like English women in London, worked predominantly in domestic service and the clothing trades. The evidence is that they took up the less desirable posts in London.

Lawton (1959) commenting on Liverpool in 1851 makes similar points:

> the percentages of Irish (both male and female) in unskilled occupations were well above those for the district as a whole in every area sampled... In all, the percentage of employed Irish in unskilled occupations was 60% as compared with 49% for the whole sample. The men worked in the docks as general labourers or in constructional work; the women as domestic servants or street traders. (Lawton 1959·52)

These concentrations have been borne out by the studies so far accomplished on all the major areas to which the Irish migrated. Even in Scotland, where there was undoubtedly greater access to skilled ranks, many of the skilled trades the Irish entered were similar to those in London, the sweated trades of tailoring and shoemaking (Lobban 1971).

While in general the Irish were employed in low-skilled areas, within this category the jobs particularly associated with them were often characterised by casual and seasonal work. Jackson (1963), writing of the building industry, states:

> In the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the Irish appear to have gained a monopoly in a number of jobs. In Manchester, for instance, it was said that at the beginning of the century the bricklayers were mainly English; by the middle 1830s all of them, about 750, were Irish... In London in 1859 there were some 38,000 men employed in the building industry, of whom about 12,000 were labourers... It was among this group that the Irish predominated. (Jackson 1963: 85)

Redford (1926) also remarks that in many places 'the Irish almost monopolized the lower grades of work in the building trades'. It was amongst this grouping that underemployment was the severest problem (Treble 1979).

The Irish also formed a considerable proportion of casual dock labour in the mid-19th century: 76.8 per cent of the dockers were Irish and they were generally engaged in unskilled labour (Lawton 1959). In the same period they formed 64.8 per cent of dock labourers in Greenock (Lobban 1971). In London the Irish 'dominated the most skilled and the heaviest riverside jobs' (Lees 1979: 241). For example, in 1851, three-quarters of the coalwhippers (those who loaded and unloaded coal ships) were Irish or of Irish descent (George 1927).

Other categories of casual employment also had a preponderance of Irish workers. carters, porters and messengers:

> ... casual fringes of porters were to be found in every significant market in Britain. At Liverpool in the mid-1830s this reserve seems largely to have consisted of Irish warehousemen who averaged little more than 7s, or two to three days work per week over the course of the year. (Treble 1979:61)

This was also mirrored in Manchester. However:

> ... casualization reached its peak in the adult male sector of the labour market, not amongst dockers or porters but among those who were labelled general labourers. (Treble 1979.62)

It was in this category that repeated studies place the single largest grouping of Irish male workers. Treble (1979) demonstrates that in Lancashire as a whole in 1851 seven per cent of the population were engaged in labouring. The figures for the Irish in Lancashire confirm their prevalence in these jobs. Between 1851-71 30 per cent of Irishmen in Wigan were involved in labouring; in Little Ireland, in Manchester, the proportion was 41 per cent in 1861 and 37 per cent in 1871 (Hartigan 1982:35). While Anderson's study of Preston, quoted in Hartigan (1982), comparing Irish adult male migrants with the local equivalent from nearby industrial villages, finds that 60 per cent of the former were labourers but only 15 per cent of the latter.

Not all the Irish, however, were employed as general labourers. The area of manufacturing in which the Irish were most likely to be employed was the textile industry. However, when examining the structural location of Irish labour in textiles it is necessary to differentiate between Scotland and the rest of Britain. In England and Wales the Irish were overwhelmingly in the lowest grade, unskilled jobs in the mills. In Scotland, although filling the same ranks, they were also employed in skilled jobs. Redford (1926), in one of the few overall surveys of the employment of the Irish, describes the different situations:

> In the Lancashire cotton industry there were thousands of Irish workers, but they were rarely employed in the most highly paid processes, such as spinning. They were mostly to be found in the blowing-rooms and the card-rooms. It was declared by prominent employers that there were not a hundred Irish spinners in all Lancashire... In the Scottish cotton spinning mills the case was entirely different. When cotton-spinning machinery was introduced there in the later years of the eighteenth century the native workers were extremely reluctant to enter the factories. Therefore the employers brought in Irish labour. (Redford 1926: 151)

He describes how, by the 1830s, the majority of workers in Glasgow mills, including the spinners, were either Irish or of Irish descent. Despite this, Redford emphasizes that in both England and Scotland 'the main influx to the cotton and other textile trades was composed of handloom weavers', notoriously the most exploited sector of the industry.

These similarities and differences between the use made of Irish labour in Scotland compared with the rest of Britain are confirmed by other studies Hartigan's (1982) investigation of the Irish in Wigan confirms that the Irish found the doors to spinning closed to them and, therefore, were engaged in the lower paid jobs in the cardroom, in blowing, tenting, weaving and throstle spinning. Even by 1861 ten per cent of the Irish workforce in the Scholes district of Wigan were still engaged in handloom weaving. As an occupation this is generally considered to have been disappearing in the 1830s but was 'able to drag out a parasitic existence for another generation' usually in areas where high numbers of Irish weavers were involved.

Collins (1981) states that in Dundee the retention of hand-weaving technology into the 1860s and 1870s alongside the mechanised spinning sector was related to the nature of Irish family employment patterns:

> As long as the Irish influx into Dundee consisted of hand-loom weavers' households with unbalanced sex ratios, there were advantages to manufacturers in the retention of hand-

> loom weaving production Thus, far from integrating into the economic and social structures of mid-nineteenth century Dundee, the Irish families played a large part in determining the nature of those economic and social structures. (Collins 1981:208)

This preponderance of young adult women, the daughters and kin of the male handloom weavers, in the migrant labour force also had a considerable effect on the subsequent development of the linen and jute industry. Whether it was due to their forced labour for low wages, as in Lancashire, or to the make-up of the Irish migrant family, as in Dundee, Irish labour had specific effects on the local structure of the textile industry (Collins 1981).

The Irish were also employed to a significant degree in two other crucial areas for industrialisation. coalmining and the associated iron foundries, and railway construction, the vital aspect of capitalist expansion in mid-19th century Britain. The Irish were particularly employed as coalminers in Scotland, south Wales and north-east England but also in the Midlands and north-west England. In Scotland in 1848 Handley (1947) estimated that more than two-thirds of miners and a quarter of colliers were Irishmen. The fact that the Irish were more likely to be working in bad conditions, to be on short-term contracts and to be more mobile is emphasized in Campbell's (1978) study of two Lancashire mining communities between 1830-1874.

The navigators ('the navvies') of the canals and railways have long been associated with Irish migrant labour. The work was arduous, dangerous and of an isolated nature, which facilitated the exploitation of the trucking system It was also seasonal and temporary in duration. According to the 1841 Census ten per cent of all names in Britain were Irish.' Treble (1973) queries that this was an accurate assessment because few enumerators' returns contain any reference to the place of origin of the navvies. At the very least the 1841 figure contains wide variations. The 1846 Select Committee on railway labourers reports evidence in the Midlands and south-east England of the prevention of the employment of Irish navvies by their English counterparts whereas 'in the north perhaps one half of the navigators are Irish'. Treble thinks the latter is probably a gross overstatement. However, it is borne out

in a study of Wigan where over 50 per cent of the navvies were Irish (Hartigan 1982). Handley (1970) confirms that the Irish formed a substantial proportion of the navvies in Scotland

Reference has already been made to Irish women's labour, that, as with Irish men's, it was similarly corralled into the unskilled and casual labour sectors. Some distinctions have to be drawn between that of young single women and married women and girls. The former often migrated to particular areas because of information that specific occupations were available, for example, in the textile industry (Collins 1981) or as domestic servants, while the employment of married women and of children in many instances is properly understood as part of the Irish family economy. As already described the Irish peasant economy was based on family enterprises, children working alongside parents as unpaid labourers and receiving a share of the plot on their marriage or the death of their father. Lees (1976) argues that for Irish migrants in London migration permitted familial economic co-operation to continue, but channelled it into new forms. In London, where the market employed migrants as individuals, their response to the economic world was a familial one, with all members of the family working for the common good

The wives and older children of casual, unskilled men worked to ensure the survival of the family. The opportunities available for them were often limited. In areas of the textile industry many found work of an ancillary nature. For example, children under the age for full-time mill work would be employed to wind the weft yarn onto pins in the handloom weaving factories of Dundee. The textile manufacturers of the same town employed the home-based labour of women and children to wind the warp bobbins which they gave out to weavers (Collins 1981). In London, with its different labour market, Irish women were employed in other areas of manufacture, notably the clothing and food industries. Beyond such employment Irish women particularly adopted two strategies in order to supplement the family income: street trading or hawking; and the taking in of lodgers. In both London and Liverpool Irish women's preponderance as petty traders has been documented (Lees 1979, Lawton 1959). It was to the numerous lodging houses in Irish areas that newly arrived migrants turned. These consisted of parts of established family households or were run by widows who saw in this an immediate means of

maintaining a single-head household together (Lees 1979, Finnegan 1985).

This emphasis on the employment of the Irish should not mask the extent of underemployment and unemployment to which they were subject. This was due, as described, to the sectors of the labour market to which they were restricted. The Irish were at once the most mobile of people in search of short-term, often seasonal work, and the most immobile because employment on the docks or in the building industry necessitated staying in one area and becoming known (Treble 1979). If any of the above strategies on the part of Irish men, women and children failed, as they frequently could, there was little option but to apply for relief or, as many did, turn to begging.

4.3 THE IMPORTANCE OF IRISH LABOUR

Handley (1947), in relation to Scotland, indicates that industrial expansion could not have occurred there on the scale that it did without Irish labour. Handley makes this observation about the relationship of Irish labour to that of the Scottish workforce (many of them migrants themselves from the Highlands):

> It was not a case of Scots abandoning types of unskilled labour to the strangers in favour of the skilled branches, because both the unskilled and skilled forms of labour were new ones, created and being created by the requirements of the industrial revolution that was underway. The Irish in Scotland made that revolution in part possible and by their labour established jobs for Scottish workers. (Handley 1947:74)

It is the centrality of the Irish to this early industrial development which distinguished the experience of the Irish in Scotland.

Turning to England, Miles (1982) comments:

> ... while in England the development of industrial capitalism was dependent upon the migration of labour from the rural hinterland, in Scotland it was much more dependent upon the migration of labour from outside the 'national' boundary. (Miles 1982.131)

This completely ignores that England's 'rural hinterland' included Wales, Scotland and Ireland. Without this 'Celtic fringe' or 'internal colonialism' it is debatable that capitalist production in England and the infrastructure it required would have been possible. It is not that capitalist development in Britain would have been different without Irish labour but that, in crucial areas, it depended on it in the first place. 'National' boundaries were not necessarily relevant when what was at stake was an adequate and appropriate supply of labour. Irish labour was recruited for specific sectors of the labour market, for example harvesting, railway and dock construction, and the textile industry. What determined this recruitment was the availability and profitability of Irish migrant labour and concurrent notions about the applicability of Irish labour for particular occupations.

The changes in agricultural production in Ireland and the demise of many Irish industries released Irish labour, which solved particular shortages of labour in Britain. For example, many who came to Britain because of the demise of the Irish textile industry headed for specific locations in Lancashire, West Yorkshire and Scotland, to occupations which would most appropriately, if exploitatively, utilise their skills. For example, Richardson (1968), in his study of Bradford, shows that in a sample of the Irish for 1851 no fewer than one-third came from Leix. This high representation from Leix was probably connected with the decline of the textile traders of Mount Mellick and Mountrath and the availability of similar work in the Bradford woollen industry.

Collins (1981) demonstrates how, for the people from Cavan and Monaghan, migration to Dundee was an inevitable decision. By 1851 they comprised one-third of the Irish in the town. The move enabled them to retain the multiple employment of family members in textile production. This shift into full-

wage labour occurred particularly in the 1840s after the blight crippled their precariously balanced economy based on textiles (flax) and agriculture

> The trading links between Dundee and Drogheda had made possible detailed knowledge of the conditions of employment in the Dundee textile industry, and had acquainted Irish families with the relatively superior standards of Dundee weavers with regard to housing and clothing. Mill owners in Aberdeen and Dundee advertised in the north of Ireland for both weavers and spinners so adult men and girls were aware of opportunities for work. (Collins 1981:206)

These examples illustrate that what was Ireland's loss was certainly Britain's gain.

Employers in Britain pinpointed Irish labour as vital and applicable for particular tasks. Many of them in the press of the day or in Parliamentary Committee meetings described the benefits of Irish labour to their enterprises. The characteristics most often commented on were the availability and capacity for gruelling manual labour of the Irish. Barber (1982) describes the attitude of Lincolnshire farmers as being that the Irish migrant was a welcome addition to the harvest labour force There were many references in the Farmers Journal about Irish harvesters, for example, during the Napoleonic Wars it was commented that were it not for the seasonal and able assistance of the Irish the harvest could never be completed in time (Barber 1982).

Many industrialists gave similar testimony to Royal Commissioners investigating the state of the Irish poor in Britain in 1835. The Commissioners commented in their report

> The demand of the English and Scotch manufacturing districts have been supplied by the surplus labour of Ireland, as their population has been fed by its surplus agricultural produce.

> We ought not... to overlook the advantage of the demand for labour in England and Scotland being amply and adequately supplied, and at a cheap rate and at very short notice, by Irish, simply because they are a potato-fed and a disorderly population. (quoted in Jones 1977:51)

This clearly portrays the importance of Irish labour as a factor of production. It was not only the abundance and labouring qualities of the Irish that made the employment of these migrants advantageous for the farmer or manufacturer. Their deployment also facilitated the reduction of the costs of production. This was achieved by capitalising on both the lower standardof living which the Irish had been forced to endure and on the national differences existing between groups of workers. For example, on many of the railway lines in England it was the practice of the sub-contractors to keep the Irish and English workmen apart. Some historians (see Handley 1970, Miles 1982) view the employers' action as a response to the extant antagonisms between the two nationalities. However, Treble (1973) believes that this overlooks what was the principal cause of Anglo-Irish clashes. This was that segregation was used by the employers in several localities as the best means of securing Irish labour at a reduced wage.

Irish labour was profitable because it had been reproduced elsewhere and, above all others, was designated as 'suitable' for heavy manual work. As such, in comparison with the indigenous workforce, the Irish were concentrated in unskilled and semi-skilled casual categories. This is clear both when examining the situation in cities like London and Liverpool and when analysing either the proportion the Irish formed of the lower grades of individual industries or their dominance of varieties of casual work. Broadly this picture holds true for Scotland also.

Two features are clear cut: the vital necessity of Irish labour to expanding capitalism in 19th-century Britain, and the restriction of the vast bulk of this labour to particular strata of the labour market. Much of the literature on labour migration to western Europe is restricted to an assessment of it as a post-1945 phenomenon. The general assumption is that

this migration has for late capitalism a new importance. Castles and Kosack (1972), in research which has set the terms of the debate, state that:

> Compared with early patterns, immigration of workers to contemporary Western Europe has two new features. The first is its character as a permanent part of the economic structure. Previously immigrant labour was used more or less temporarily when the domestic industrial reserve army was inadequate for some special reason, like war or unusually fast expansion; since 1945, however, large numbers of immigrant workers have taken up key positions in the productive process, so that even in the case of recession their labour cannot be dispensed with. (Castles and Kosack 1972:6)

This, in particular, ignores the circumstances of the construction of the industrial reserve army in Britain. Castles and Kosack acknowledge that the Irish played a vital part in British industrialisation but do not fully explain how it was of a temporary character. Presumably this was due to the greater vulnerability of the Irish in the 19th century to unemployment at times of recession. This is indeed part of the condition of all 'surplus' labour populations. However, in the contemporary period there is little reason to suspect that migrant/minority groups have not correspondingly borne the proportionally heavier brunt of lay-offs or non-employment.

Although there are specific features that have to be taken into account when examining immigration into this country since 1945, the general premise in theories such as Castles and Kosack's appears to be incorrect. Their notion that immigrant labour has only recently become 'a structural necessity for West European capitalism' belies history. The issue is well drawn by Robinson (1983) who, having described the centuries-old practice of augmenting the armies of European states from mercenaries and marginal peoples, comments:

> The important meaning is that this form of enlisting human reserves was not peculiar to military apparatus but extended throughout Europe to domestic service, handicrafts,

> industrial labour, the ship- and dock-workers of merchant capitalism, and the field labourers of agrarian capitalism. There has never been a moment in modern European history (if before) that migration and/or immigrant labour was not a significant aspect of European economies. (Robinson 1983:24)

Despite references to the Irish in Britain and to the Poles, Italians and Spaniards who worked in France, Germany and Switzerland in the 19th century, Castles and Kosack persist in describing the 'domestic industrial reserve army' as having been the main resource prior to 1945. The object of this chapter has been to indicate that this cannot be substantiated with respect to Britain.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the economic background to Irish migration and the structural importance of Irish labour for British capitalism in the 19th century. The close relationship between economic underdevelopment in Ireland and economic development in Britain was examined. In the 19th century the Irish economy was transformed by a switch in demand from Britain for animal products instead of corn and by the devastating effect on many Irish industries of free-trade policies. One consequence was the production in Ireland of a 'surplus' population and the highest rates of emigration in western Europe.

Irish migration to Britain was a significant proportion of the total emigration and Irish migrants were an essential element of the 'British' reserve army of labour. The main characteristics of Irish employment in Britain were outlined. Predominantly Irish migrants were concentrated in seasonal or casual work which involved heavy manual labour and was unskilled or semi-skilled. The Irish belonged, therefore, to the most impoverished section of the working class. Employers welcomed the Irish, viewing them as particularly suitable for heavy manual work. Consequently Irish labour was essential to the expansion and development of specific sectors of both agricultural and industrial production and of service industries

The structural importance of Irish migrant labour for British economic development and the location of the Irish in the labour market are key points of the argument here, for two reasons First, as the necessity of Irish labour was recognised, there were only localised attempts to send the migrants back to Ireland. Instead, by the 1830s attention turned to the problems the settlement of inceasing numbers of Irish people were perceived to present Second, Irish migration was increasing at a time when capitalist social relations had not been fully established. The influx of large numbers of migrants who were distinguished by the jobs that they did, by their religion and by their national identity, was to have a significant impact in the fluid political climate of the 1830s and 1840s. These matters are examined in more detail in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE IRISH AS A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEM IN 19TH-CENTURY BRITAIN

1. INTRODUCTION

The object of this chapter is to demonstrate that Irish migrants in the 19th century were constructed as a particular social and political threat and subject to specific state practices. These practices resulted in the differentiation and segregation of the Irish from the rest of the working class as well as in strategies to incorporate the Irish themselves. In an economy characterised by the utilisation of migrant labour and by conditions which set worker against worker, what will be addressed is why it was Irish labour specifically which came to be segregated and differentiated from the rest of the workforce Policies concerning the Irish in Britain developed in a context and at a time when fears of political upheaval were ever present. These fears were inspired by events in France, the possibility of insurrection in Ireland and the political activities of the new urban industrialised working class

The first half of the century was critical for the formation of capitalist social relations The establishment of an appropriate labour force was all important:

> What was required was a labour force that could respond positively to the economic incentives the system offered, in order to realise the high productivity of which it was capable. The adaption of labour involved not only coercive forces whereby the labourer was compelled to work, but, in the long run, the transformation of social consciousness by which some of the basic assumptions of middle class society

> would be accepted, in more or less degree, by the working population. (Saville 1987 13)

An important element in this transformation of social consciousness involved the development of a racist nationalism shared by all social classes in Britain. Anti-Irish hostility and anti-Catholicism were central aspects of this process.

The discussion in this chapter will concentrate on four issues First, the social problem the Irish migrants were deemed to represent is explored. This is followed by a review of two aspects of social policy, the operation of the Poor Law and policing. Both illustrate the high profile accorded the Irish in Britain and the types of policies pursued as a consequence. Third, the political threat which the Irish were deemed to constitute will be considered. Finally, relations between the Irish and the indigenous working class are considered

2. CLASS FORMATION: THE BASIS OF ANTAGONISMS BETWEEN THE IRISH AND INDIGENOUS WORKING CLASS

Processes of differentiation and segregation were integral to the development of capitalist relations. The period between 1840 and 1860 has been identified by Foster (1974) and Stedman-Jones (1974) as crucial in terms of the hegemonisation of significant sectors of the working class Developments which originated with the passage of the Ten Hour Act and the defeat of Chartism in the late 1840s bore their fruit in the final decades of the 19th century with the emergence of an impermeable working-class culture. This culture was conservative and home centred compared with the radical artisan culture dominant in the first third of the century (Stedman-Jones 1974).

Foster distinguishes the main strand of the hegemonic processes which produced this situation as the increasing differentiation and segregation of different parts of the labour force, in particular, the divisions between the skilled and the unskilled, the English and the Irish. Foster's

emphasis is on the segregation of the Irish and English being in different areas of the towns and cities. But equally important was the role of the Irish in the labour force. Although not completely synonymous with the unskilled, a higher proportion of the Irish were involved in such occupations than any others. Their numbers were such that in many jobs they formed the majority of the people employed. It was this juxtaposition of the Irish and a specific form of labour power, casual and unskilled, which also laid the basis for heightening the differentiation and segregation of the working class.

Foster does not fully register the impact of religion and national identity as factors in the differentiation of the working class in the second half of the 19th century. In his study of Oldham reference is made to the development of Orangeism, other militant Protestant organizations and the build-up of anti-Irish propaganda. Foster locates these developments as an important aspect of the political restabilisation of the 1850s. However, when trying to explain the Oldham anti-Irish riots of 1861, Foster resorts to explaining their impetus primarily in economic terms. The anti-Irish hostility, he argues, was a response of a semi-skilled population who were facing unemployment. Although economic motivations in the deteriorating conditions of that period were without doubt contributory, it seems likely that the escalating provocations and antagonisms of the previous decade were relevant to events. Kirk's (1979) study of three towns, also in south-east Lancashire and in the same period, found that the relatively economically prosperous and quiet years of 1851-2 and 1868 witnessed by far the greatest antipathy between the English and the Irish. This suggests that issues other than immediate economic disadvantage were also dominant.

There was an economic basis to the antagonisms existing between the Irish and the indigenous working class, but these economic motivations were often interrelated with other factors. The question is why and how, in a system which inevitably set worker against worker, the hostility between the Irish and the English or the Irish and the Scots became the acute dichotomy. In England, Treble (1973) chronicles the attachment of the navvy to the Catholic church; as does Barber (1982), when she writes about

the seasonal harvesters in Lincolnshire, where, once railway routes were established, trains of cattle trucks specially chartered by prospective employers brought five hundred Irishmen at a time into the towns of Lincolnshire, and the Catholic churches were filled to overflowing throughout the summer. Barber comments that the mushrooming of numbers in the 1830s and 1840s, and the competition for employment which this produced, created hostility towards the Irish and Catholicism in general which was directed towards the migrant labourers in particular. Her conclusion is that the appearance, numbers and behaviour of the Irish and the distrust of all 'casual' labour made the Irish migrants an obvious and easy target.

It was the conjuncture of these factors, large numbers and Catholicism with the 'Irishness' of the migrant labourers which differentiated them and justified attacks made on them. Rather than a cause and effect sequence being identifiable, it was the juxtaposition of a reviled religious denomination and a distrusted national group with a particular form of labour power which served to make Irish workers 'visible'. These migrant labourers did not appear in a 'context-free' situation. The hostility which greeted their arrival from many quarters, except their employers, can be traced to the Irish as the incarnation of centuries of foreboding: forebodings which in England had been generated anew with the easing of the Penal Laws; sentiments which had been reinforced by the 1798 rebellion of the United Irishmen; suspicions which were now embodied in the form of the Irish migrant.

Handley (1970) describes anti-Catholicism as the chief reason for hostility towards the Irish in Scotland, but also suggests wider dimensions. For example, in his study of the navvy in Scotland, Handley states the following:

> ... above all, the most fruitful source of clashes lay in the propinquity of three different nationalities of navvies - Irish, English and Scots. The enmity between the Scots and the Irish went back to the beginning of the nineteenth

> century. The enmity between the Irish and the English went back to Strongbow in the twelfth. (Handley 1970:267)

He quotes one contemporary commentator (1870s) remarking of the English navvies to be found in Scotland that the one point upon which they felt strongly was their dislike of working with Irishmen. Scotsmen and Welshmen they could fraternise with, but an Irishman was enough, almost, to make a whole gang strike. The arrival of one Irishman was sufficient, he was symbolic of the 'presence' of the whole

Handley cites numerous other examples which suggest that it was the nationality of the Irish around which the various factors which could potentially generate hostility towards them revolved. He describes an incident when an Irishman was arrested at a public fair and he was led off shouting, 'Rally around, Irishmen'. The answering cry of the police, when attacked by the man's compatriots at his bidding, was 'Scotland! Scotland!' intending to bring 'locals' to their aid. Transient examples such as this are useful as they illustrate the extent to which national sentiments, often overtly interlaced with religious connotations, were meaningful and aroused people to action.

The general picture presented of anti-Irish/Catholic hostility in historical studies of the 19th century is that it was most widespread, sustained and extreme in Scotland, especially the west Lowlands, somewhat similar in Lancashire, particularly Liverpool and a sporadic feature of life elsewhere in England and Wales. It is usually pointed out that this pattern parallels the concentration of the Irish in Britain, with the notable exception of London, and a correlation assumed to exist between the presence of the Irish and the existence of hostility towards them. There is good reason to be critical of this presumption. As Miles (1982) points out, if numbers were the active, determinant cause, then one would expect anti-Irish agitation to have been continuous and to have coincided with the peak period of immigration. This did not happen.

Throughout the century in different parts of the country there are examples of recurring anti-Irish/Catholic riots recorded and attacks on

Irish areas. There is a pitfall in equating anti-Irishness or anti-Catholicism solely with the recorded riot or other manifestations of hostility. Where the Irish were settled is relevant, in that this would be a pre-condition for a physical clash between the Irish and the English or the Scots or the Welsh to take place. However, there is no necessity for the Irish to be present in an area for anti-Irishness to exist there. This would lead to the corollary that southern England and much of Wales were free of hostility towards the Irish because relatively few Irish settled there. This was certainly not the case, as the Welsh riots of 1882 and the Garibaldi riots in London in the early 1860s demonstrate.

That there was widespread antagonism towards the Irish from the indigenous working class is not in doubt, nor that these antagonisms became more firmly cemented in the second half of the 19th century. The contention here is that these antagonisms cannot be explained solely in terms of the immediate economic threat the Irish, often willing to work longer and for less pay, posed to other workers Irish migrants in particular came to be segregated and differentiated from the rest of the working class because of the conjunction of their religion and national identity with their role in the labour market. It was the combination of these characteristics which ensured the high visibility of the Irish in a society dominated by fears of working-class combination, antipathy to Catholicism and hostility to Irish claims for self-government.

The aspect of this which most closely concerns this thesis is the impact of government action and the developing apparatus of central and local government upon the segregation and differentiation of the Irish working class and in the development of incorporative strategies towards the Irish themselves. As has been shown, many employers in the 19th century actively orchestrated differences between workers for their economic advantage. The attempt will be made to demonstrate that the role of the State was also a significant factor in constructing the context in which Irish migrants were forced to build their lives in Britain and in determining the response the Irish evoked from the the indigenous working class. First, it is necessary to establish that the Irish were identified as a social and political threat, a specific problem within the working

class, and so subject to differential treatment by the public authorities in Britain.

3. THE IRISH AS A SOCIAL THREAT IN BRITAIN

The 'threat of the Irish' was an integral part of the construction of social relations in the first half of the 19th century. This involved notions of the Irish as both a political and social threat. In the context of the Union and the accelerating migration of the Irish into Britain these characterisations were conjured into feverish spectres of 'contagion'. The offensive against the 'Irish threat' took on a particular character with regard to the Irish in Britain. The object of this section is to examine the manner in which the Irish were conceived as a social threat and the policies by which the Irish were further differentiated and segregated from the rest of the working class. Two aspects of these policies will be examined in detail: the formation of Irish ghetto areas and the development of policing practices.

3.1 THE IRISH CONSTITUTED AS A SOCIAL THREAT

In the Blue Books of the first half of the 19th century there are numerous references to, and analyses of, the social threat that the Irish constituted. Some studies have concluded that, despite these references, there was no strategy or project towards the Irish in Britain. In particular, the absence of specific legislation to deal with the 'Irish menace' is used to corroborate a view that, although the Irish were noticeable in 19th-century cities, fundamentally they were not distinguished from the rest of the working class in terms of State policies. The absence of legislation acts for historians of the State in the same way that the riot does for chroniclers of the working class.

In fact, there was considerable legislation. However, the problem of the Irish was seen as emanating from Ireland itself and the people therein. The place to resolve or manage matters was in Ireland. Consequently vast

quantities of legislation relating solely to Ireland were passed throughout the 19th century. Jones (1977), an historian of social policy, emphasises that no legislation was introduced to combat the impact of the Irish in Britain. However, Jones demonstrates, for example, that the 1838 Irish Poor Relief Act (Ireland) was, in fact, brought into being to improve conditions in England. The increasing Irish migration to this country was attributed to the existence of poor-relief procedures in England and their absence in Ireland. The 1835 Poor Enquiry noted with disapproval the flexibility applied to the settlement laws in places like Manchester and Liverpool and commented that it was the Irish who usually benefited.

The contradiction, as Jones points out, was that, on the one hand, employers were keen to have a supply of cheap, mobile labour and, on the other hand, ratepayers were determined not to pay either for absent or 'non-resident' poor when such labour became redundant. The Irish figured frequently in such debates as a noted source of cheap labour, a likely drain on the poor rate and as expensive paupers to be removed. In 1819 an Act of Parliament had empowered parishes in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars to remove Irish destitutes 'to any port in Ireland', begging being sufficient proof of vagrancy. Although thousands were returned to Ireland, as many of them were seasonal harvesters they were able to turn the regulations to their own advantage. In the long term the profitability and practicality of such schemes raised doubts.

This in part accounted for the decisions to grant relief, especially in Lancashire, the county which bore the heaviest cost of the final stage of shipping the Irish back to Ireland. Neither the deportation policy nor, later, the operation of the 1838 Poor Relief Act had any noticeable impact on the situation they were designed to stem. In different ways they were both inappropriate measures for the scale of economic upheaval occurring in Ireland. At the same time as the attempted implementation of these measures many employers, as already described, were dependent on Irish labour and were actively recruiting in Ireland.

Laws were passed designed to suppress agrarian protest in Ireland or to make the population conform to British administration of the country.

It is clear, therefore, that there was a considerable legislative response to the Irish in Ireland and this carried implications for the Irish in Britain. These policies reveal the duality of the British view of Ireland: it was a constituent part of the United Kingdom but continued to be ruled as a foreign colony. Insulating the Irish with specific legislation also served to differentiate them further and to heighten the contrast with the English, Welsh and Scots, despite shared citizenship. In Britain the differentiation of the Irish migrants did not necessarily require specific legislation of a directly discriminatory nature. In fact, this might have been counter-productive.

3.2 THE FORMATION OF IRISH GHETTO AREAS

The segregation and differentiation of the labour force was cemented by the physical separation of living areas in all the major towns and cities in which there were Irish migrants. As early as 1836 the Poor Law Enquiry (Ireland) reported that several witnesses had described the Irish as forming distinct communities in the midst of the English. Recent studies have confirmed that, before the upturn in migration to Britain of the 1840s, the Irish already inhabited defined areas in most of the cities in Britain in which they settled. By the 1850s these were often exclusively Irish districts, whereas before they were probably more mixed in their social composition. The descriptions of the conditions in which the Irish lived are similar whatever the town concerned. They predominated in multi-occupied tenements, particularly in the numerous courts and alleys which branched off the main streets in city centres.

These circumstances were a spatial reflection of a number of aspects of the lives of the Irish. To begin with, people in the casual labour market frequently had to live close to potential sources of employment. This usually meant that a disproportionate element of the casual labour force lived in or near the city centre because of their type of work. Given the pattern of urban development in the 19th century, it was in these central areas that some of the worst conditions and cheapest lodgings were found. The overcrowding which was a much commented-upon feature of Irish

living conditions was often the consequence of taking in lodgers. A family in one room took in lodgers because the casual work available was not sufficient to cover the rent and their other needs. This was even more of a necessity because unscrupulous landlords often put the rents up for the Irish because they were so desperate for accommodation.

Another reason why the Irish were confined together in the towns was because of the operation of the Poor Law. Finnegan (1982), in her study of the Irish in York, details the dilemma for people who were mainly employed as agricultural and field labourers. They were usually employed a considerable distance from the city, often 20 miles away, but lived in York because of the lack of cottage accommodation in the villages. This was a deliberate policy of many rural landlords, who were reluctant to let their workers acquire settlement or irremoveability rights and consequently a claim to poor relief in the parish. In addition, the kind of work carried out by the Irish, often hired in family groups, was casual farm labouring on a piecework basis and so was not of 'the kind which would encourage farmers and landlords to offer them tied accomodation'. The consequence was that in York, just as in the large cities of Liverpool and Manchester:

> inflated rents, scarcity of cottage accomodation in the city and a generally hostile environment forced the unskilled Irish to overcrowd. (Finnegan 1982:57)

Finnegan points out that any improvement in circumstances was usually accompanied by a corresponding reduction in the number of lodgers, reducing overcrowding.

The received wisdom of the day, as expressed by Dr Kay to the 1836 Commission to Inquire into the State of the Irish Poor, was that the Irish caused these conditions to materialise. Dr Kay argued that, if the Irish did not exist, no one would speculate on any group of people being prepared to live in such insanitary accommodation and therefore the houses would not have been built. This confirmed the conception of the Irish as content to live at a lower level of existence than anyone else. Witness after witness to the 1836 Inquiry commented on the fact that if the Irish and the English

earnt the same wage the former would spend less of it on daily comforts than the latter. For example, the continued reliance of the Irish in this country on a potato-based diet with little meat was taken as evidence of their greater tolerance of debased conditions and their propensity to spend the greater part of their income on drink.

Great emphasis is placed by the commentators recorded in the 1836 Report on their opinion that the Irish did not experience 'national or religious jealousy'. The proof of this is stated to be that employers are as willing to employ the Irish as the English or the Scots, their chief criteria being that they require the cheapest and most approriate labour for the job. However, the employers make innumerable references to the fact that the English and Scots maintain a distance between themselves and the Irish. This is attributed to their dislike of the Irish character and of Irish habits. There are many proclamations about the failure of the Irish to influence the English or the Scots. Whereas in certain situations the 'better class' or more respectable of the Irish are described as susceptible to English influence and a similar process is noted in Scotland.

The 1836 Report commended Irish harvesters as the most advantageous of Irish labourers. The tasks they accomplished were essential and they did not stay long enough for their lack of morals to infect the English. Despite the many assertions that the British were not influenced by the Irish, the fear was that they would be, especially in the political tumult of the first decades of the 19th century. The amplification of the dangers the presence of the Irish heralded, therefore, took particular forms, for example, highlighting the potential contagion of their habits and the dire consequences which could follow from their adoption. The Irish were seen to be the origin and conductors of disease. The Surgeon of the General Dispensary in Birmingham told the 1836 Inquiry that:

> The Irish in Birmingham are the very pests of society. They generate contagion. (quoted in Jones 1977: 49)

The perceptions of the Irish recorded in the 1836 Inquiry were a variant of a philosphy prevalent from the late 18th century that viewed poverty as a product of character rather than environment and, therefore, explained poverty in moral rather than economic terms. In the case of the Irish this was specifically orchestrated on a national theme. They were deemed to monopolise a level of poverty and consequent barbarity unknown in the civilised world. The Commissioners conducting the Inquiry concluded:

> ...Irish emigration into Britain is an example of a less civilised population spreading themselves, as a kind of substratum, beneath a more civilised community: and, without excelling in any branch of industry, obtaining possession of all the lowest departments of manual labour. (quoted in Jones 1977: 48)

Although the concern of witnesses to the 1836 Inquiry, ranging from Paisley manufacturers to police superintendents and from priests to Poor Law guardians, was to deny that the Irish encountered any specific prejudice, they in fact provide all the evidence of a national hostility towards the Irish. For the officials, however, these hostilities were but a natural response to a group of people possessing no civilised habits. Even the much commented-upon generosity of the Irish towards their own is couched in terms which deem it unfortunately profligate. In the context of this evidence of the distance maintained between the indigenous population and the Irish and the examples of hostility at the workplace already described, the concentration of the Irish in certain parts of the towns and cities of Britain must also be seen as, at least in part, a response of the Irish to that hostility. The evidence also suggests that the Irish were constrained to live in certain places by the availability of work, the level of rents and by the action of various authorities, for example in the operation of the Poor Law, which ensured that the Irish were restricted to particular areas.

3.3 THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICING PRACTICES

While both the type of jobs the Irish did and the conditions in which they were compelled to live were transmuted into corroborative evidence of their degenerative nature, there was another element in this 'contagion' of the Irish. This concerned their impact on public order. Irish ghetto areas became increasingly synonomous with disorderly conduct. This was usually attributed to the ingrained Irish habits of drunkenness and faction fighting. Both in the 1836 Report and later in the press, with reference to early compilations of criminal statistics, the endemic unruliness of the Irish was constantly reiterated. Many present-day accounts of the Irish in Britain faithfully transcribe as objective fact this 'special relationship' between drunkenness, violence and the Irish. Only a few accounts examine the relationship between the agencies of 'law and order' in 19th-century Britain and the Irish migrants.

Until the establishment of local police forces the maintenance of public order was primarily in the hands of magistrates. They were empowered to enlist special constables to deal with incidents in their areas of jurisdiction. It was at this level of administration that the most active implementation of discriminatory policies towards the Irish took place, be it justices of the peace or Poor Law guardians. The development of police forces from the 1830s onwards was primarily a function of what was viewed as the necessity of 'preserving the peace'. Swift (1985), in a study of policing and the Irish in 19th-century Wolverhampton, describes how the Irish bore the brunt of the police drive to assert their authority. The popularised image of the Irish made them vulnerable to prosecutions for certain types of crimes. Cockcroft (1974), relating the operations of the Liverpool police force, states that it was with respect to 'preserving the peace' that the Irish were seen as the root of the problem. Swift argues that it was the decision of the police force in Wolverhampton to operate the Beer Act of 1848 and the Lodging Houses Act of 1851 specifically in the Irish areas which accounted for the high appearance of the Irish in the crime statistics. Philips (1974) emphasises these points, arguing that the police found in the Irish a 'natural' target for their attentions, and the Irish reciprocated by defending their areas

and people with attacks on the police. The prominence of the Irish in prosecutions for disorder highlighted the relative orderliness of the English inhabitants of these areas.

The composition of the early police forces corroborates the likelihood of the Irish as a targeted population. In Liverpool Orange and Green antagonism existed in the force from its inception in the 1830s. During the rest of the century Orange interests frequently dominated the watch committee and, therefore, had an influence on policing (Cockcroft 1974). Swift, describes the Wolverhampton police force as dependent on recruits from the army and the Irish police force. Many of these would be Irish themselves, but the crucial point is that they would have already served in suppressing agrarian revolts in Ireland throughout the early 19th century. The composition of the police forces, their efforts to establish authority and their consequent interpretations of their task in relation to the areas they were policing reflected existing demarcations of the Irish and further differentiated the Irish from their English and Scottish working-class neighbours.

From this consideration of the circumstances in which the Irish came to live in ghetto areas and of the development of policing practices it seems clear that anti-Irish prejudice was an influence on policy formation and implementation at local level. As Finnegan (1985), in a study of the Irish in York, comments:

> ... there was a marked degree of anti-Irish prejudice in the city, stemming mainly from the middle classes and apparent in the attitudes and utterances of the Poor Law Guardians, Sanitary Inspectors and magistrates, and particularly evident in newspaper editorials and the coverage of local news. If these attitudes were not merely reflections of the public's views, but were also instrumental in forming them, then their influence could have been considerable. Those in authority, English, middle-class, respectable Protestants, were prejudiced against the immigrants, and prejudice led

> them to make stereotyped, misleading judgements about the Irish... (Finnegan 1985:77)

What was the case in York was also true of other cities (see Gilley 1970 on London, Burke 1910 on Liverpool). What these practices indicate is that the absence of specific legislation concerning the Irish in Britain is not the most significant aspect of the situation. Legislation of a seemingly broad sweep, aimed at the problems of the morals of the working class as a whole, was often implemented at local level in a manner that differentiated sections of the working class one from the other. For example, the actions of the police were significant in constructing the context in which the Irish propensity to certain types of behaviour would be expected. The policing practices orchestrated differences and antagonisms amongst the working class. That these differences occurred along lines which reinforced a hierarchy of skills with that of respectability is recognised. What is being stressed here is the coincidence of national and religious differences within this class segmentation. As a consequence of these processes the Irish were a very visible minority in 19th-century Britain.

The Irish were 'visible', not just because they were, there but because they were 'perceived' to be there. Important though the numbers and distribution of the Irish migrants were, this alone does not clinch the case for their visibility. It is the necessary basis but it is worth noting that, in the first half of the 19th century, Scottish agricultural migrants, although not as large in number as the Irish migrants, were numerous in England. Redford (1926) comments that there is little known of the Scots migrant compared with the Irish. He attributes this to the fact that they less frequently required poor relief and, for example, in London few Scottish paupers were brought before the city magistrates. Redford describes a sisable number of Scottish harvesters working in Lincolnshire in the early part of the century. Barber (1982), researching through local reports and newspapers, finds no reference to them.

Redford does not question why so many fewer Scottish migrants claimed poor relief or were brought before magistrates compared with the Irish. The implication is that this was the consequence of the Irish being an

inherently pauperised population. In the case of Irish seasonal migrants like the harvesters there were a number of reasons for the claims on poor relief. For example, if the harvest was late the Irish would wait in the nearby towns and apply for assistance. The Irish had little choice over this because of the operation of the Poor Law in rural areas and the determined efforts of farmers and other interests to ensure they did not become resident in the villages (Collins 1976). There is no evidence of the Scottish migrants being systematically treated in the same way.

Barber quotes the following from a Lincolnshire newspaper in 1809 to show the early 'genesis of the Irish phenomenon':

> Irish labourers and harvest men from the interior counties will meet with great encouragement. (quoted in Barber 1982: 11)

What is interesting about this statement is that it is Irish labour that is distinguished from the rest. The suggestion here is that Irish labour was distinguished from the rest of the seasonal workforce, not just because the Irish were an essential component of the harvest workforce, but because of the extant notions of 'the Irish'. The argument to be pursued is that the conjunction of migrant labour, poverty and Catholicism was 'recognised' as Irish and this explains why the Irish were seen, categorised and subject to the attention of magistrates and Poor Law guardians to a greater degree than, for example, Scottish migrants. The latter were poor too, but they were part of a longer-established and more acceptable union, and they were Protestants.

4. THE POLITICAL THREAT OF THE IRISH IN 19TH CENTURY BRITAIN

This section will examine the political threat that the Irish in 19th-century Britain were seen to pose. The political aspect of class relations in the first half of the century is usually described as governed by a fear of revolution inspired by events in France. However, there was also considerable anxiety about the repercussions of unrest in Ireland and fear

that an alliance might be forged between the Irish and the radical working class in Britain. Irish republicanism induced just as many visions of calamity as did the French Revolution. The Irish Catholic was the potential traitor par excellence.

An alliance between the Irish and British working class was a recurring fear throughout the first half of the century. At the end of the 18th century, during the French wars, the Prime Minister Pitt's nightmare was of a co-ordinated attack by England's external and internal enemies (Elliott 1979). After the 1801 Act of Union Ireland, one of the external enemies, became an internal enemy. The potential threat this posed was nowhere more evident than in the various insurrectionary plots of which there is evidence between 1797-1802. During this five-year period revolutionary activity among the English working class was predominantly an Irish importation (Elliott 1979).

Elliott (1979) argues that the extent of this influence has often been ignored by English historians. The United Irishmen, the force behind the 1798 rebellion in Ireland, introduced the organisational framework of the secret society to Britain and altered the pattern of working-class radicalism by attaching it to an enlarged United Irish programme of total revolution in Britain and Ireland, accompanied by a French invasion. Reverend James Coigley, a Catholic priest from Ulster, was the main mover in setting up 'branches' of the United Irish Society in Britain and was instrumental in founding the Society of United Britons, an urban-based alliance of working-class interests and republicanism. The leaders of the plots were eventually arrested, but only Coigley was convicted of treason and hanged.

Elliott's assessement is that republicanism was an importation which was continually reinforced in this period from its source in Ireland and which capitalised on the temporary unpopularity of war and the government. The tenuous relationship that was built up between Irish republicanism and English discontent was destroyed by the emergence of popular patriotism in the face of the Napoleonic threat. Further 'English disgust at the violence of the Irish rebellion' (Elliott 1977:50) contributed to the

waning of English support for any plans for rebellion in Britain after 1798. This early attempt at liaison between Irish republicans and British radicals demonstrates the reality of the fears the governments of the day had about such an alliance. It also illustrates that, from the begining of such attempts at alliance between the Irish and the British, perceptions of the Irish as violent played a crucial role in dissipating the combination of forces.

For the following five decades the Irish in Britain continued to be an important political grouping in the varied and mobile population of industrial towns and districts (Belchem 1985). According to Belchem (1985) there was remarkable eclecticism in working-class political and social behaviour of the period, with considerable overlap of personnel in supposedly discrete movements. Particular attention has been paid in historical studies to the involvement of the Irish in Chartism. A debate exists about how extensive this Irish involvement was. The critical issue appears to have been Daniel O'Connell's break from Chartism in 1837. Until that point O'Connell, as leader of the Catholic emancipation campaign, was closely connected with various British radical movements. Irish issues and Irish involvement in radical and working-class movements were of crucial significance in the aftermath of the passage of the 1832 Reform Act. In 1833 it was the Irish Coercion Act which finally persuaded the National Union of Working Classes to adopt a policy of outright confrontation with the government by calling a National Convention. The government prohibited the Convention and the NUWC disintegrated. This marked the begining of the rapidly intensifying disillusion of radical leaders with the Whigs which was to bring the Chartist movement into being. Disenchantment with O'Connell completed the process and established in 1837 Chartism's independence and working-class character.

After his break from association with Chartism O'Connell set up the Repeal Movement in Ireland to repeal the Act of Union. His organisation banned the participation of its members in Chartism. The question which historians have debated is whether the Irish working class in Britain followed their fellow class members and a number of Irish leaders like Feargus O'Connor, Bronterre O'Brien and John Docherty into Chartism, or

whether the Repeal Movement's prohibition on involvement was a sufficient deterrent for most Irish people. The evidence seems mixed. In many of the smaller manufacturing towns informal association between the Chartists and the Irish existed (Belchem 1985). However, it is clear that there was very little support for Chartism in Lancashire, especially in Liverpool and Manchester, the most densely settled Irish areas. This suggests there was some fluidity in contacts and liaison between the Irish and the rest of the working class prior to 1850. But it also suggests that the antagonisms which became pronounced between the Irish and the indigenous working class after 1850 already existed in the first part of the century.

The fear of a solid alliance between the Irish and British working classes under the umbrella of Chartism appeared to be a reality in Chartism's last gasp in 1848. In that year, while the upper class and middle class feared the consequences of revolutionary upheavals on the Continent, the government anticipated a more specific danger. This was that there would be an insurrection in Ireland and a combination of Irish nationalists and Chartists in Britain (Saville 1987). Goodway (1982), in his analysis of London Chartism, dissects the mythologies which have been constructed about the last great Chartist rally on Kennington Common in April 1848. The myths present an image of the rally as an anticlimax when all sections of English society rallied against the extremists, thus preserving Britain as that unusual entity: a nation which holds no truck with insurrectionaries; a polity that does not experience revolutionaries. In fact, as Goodway demonstrates, real fears surrounded the event. Massive preparations were made throughout the summer of 1848 to counter and defuse the activities of the Irish Confederates and the Chartists.

It is significant that Liverpool was the city whose support for Chartism was to cause most alarm in 1848. After O'Connell's death in 1845 the Irish Confederates gradually moved to a position of encouraging alliance between the two movements. This period was immediately after the famine, when thousands of Irish people had crossed to Liverpool. Repressive measures were being applied in Ireland because of fears of revolt, for example, the Crown and Government Security Act or 'Gagging' Act of 1848. In July 1848, despite a colossal military camp in Everton in

Liverpool, magistrates applied for the suspension of Habeas Corpus to be extended from Ireland to Liverpool. Nearly 10,000 Special Constables were sworn in and 50 armed Confederate clubs were kept under strict surveillance. The aim of the Irish Confederates in Liverpool and elsewhere in Britain was to organise a sympathetic rebellion to detain the military in Britain (Belchem 1985).

Belchem's view is that the open alliance with the Irish in 1848 probably benefitted the government more than the Chartists. It was the spectre of the Irish, quite as much as dread of contagion spreading across from the Continent, which brought an accretion of strength to the forces of order in 1848. Borderline occupational groups, such as shopkeepers and clerks, hurried to be Special Constables as the press highlighted the 'Irish threat'. Equally, tensions between the Chartists and Confederates as to the use of violence were susceptible to the propaganda. The press made much of the difference between the English and Irish when it came to methods of achieving political ends. By exploiting the emotive connotations of the term 'Irish', the press and the establishment utilised a means of stigmatising Chartism and of fragmenting the working class.

For example, John Leech, a cartoonist for Punch in 1848, drew several cartoons crammed with Irish brutes, with huge jaws, long upper lips, and simious noses. The cartoons of 1848 did not portray the Irish in as simian a manner as later in the 1860s at the time of Fenianism; however, Leech's cartoons indicated clearly the opinion of Punch of Irishmen who protested against famine conditions and British rule (Curtis 1971). The working-class journal The English Patriot and the Irish Repealer protested at 'The Old Original Dodge! Divide and Govern' (Belchem 1985: 15). In the second half of the 19th century these divisions amongst the working class became consolidated and may partly account for the readiness of significant sections of the working class to vote Tory once the franchise was extended (see Kirk 1979). Further attempts at concerted action between British radicals and Irish Republicans were undermined by British perceptions of the Irish as violent (see Newsinger 1982).

Cedric Robinson (1983) has pointed out that:

> The processes behind the appearance of a radically-conscious working class nationalism require some rather close attention, if for no other reason than that they have been obscured in radical English histories... (Robinson 1983: 44)

He notes that the part played by Irish workers in the revolts of English labour in the late 18th century and early 19th century were the social and historical expression of Irish nationalism and, therefore, that:

> ... most important to the understanding of the evolution of working-class nationalism in Britain.....is the role another nationalism - Irish nationalism - played in the formative period of English working-class developments and its concomitant construction of English working-class culture. (Robinson 1983: 45)

The radical histories Robinson refers to have always been concerned with other matters.

The decades prior to 1850 are appropriately described as witnessing the expression of a class conciousness and a critique of the State not to be seen again in the 19th century amongst the indigenous working class. This period also entailed the acceleration of those forces, which, when combined, were to segregate and differentiate the Irish from the rest of the working class. What was integral to these processes was the understanding that, to whichever class they belonged, a British man or woman became aware that they were not Irish. The British were part of a more civilised community beneath which a less civilised population was spreading.

This section has demonstrated that fear of an alliance between the Irish and British working class was a crucial component of class politics in the 1830s and 1840s. The evidence presented also indicates that national antipathies between the Irish and British were already present prior to 1850, and the working class in Britain was susceptible to an orchestrated nationalism which posited the Irish as the antithesis of

Britishness. These attempts to divide the Irish and British working class depicted the Irish as inherently violent.

6. CONCLUSION

The material examined in the first three chapters has confirmed the high visibility of the Irish in the public discourse of 19th-century Britain. The evidence presented in this chapter has been concerned with a particular aspect of that visibility. It demonstrates that in the politically volatile circumstances of the first half of the 19th century the Irish in Britain were constituted as a social and political threat. The correlations made between Irish workers and disease, poverty, crime and political rebellion ensured that they were the object of government attention. This is an important point to establish. The argument here is that one consequence of this construction of the Irish as a social and political threat was that the State developed specific intentions towards the Irish in Britain. Further, that the policies pursued by both central and municipal authorities actively constructed the context in which the Irish settled in Britain. Just as the practices of employers determined the relations between different groups of workers, so the policies of various public authorities were often crucial in segregating and differentiating one section of the working class from another. It was particularly at the local level that policies of differentiation and segregation were pursued, most often fuelled by anti-Irish sentiment and anti-Catholicism.

In the first half of the 19th century there was a fear of alliance between the Irish and British working class and there was a degree of political collaboration between British radicals and Irish republicans. However, for the Irish the economic necessity of emigration could not be separated in most cases from the forced and harsh nature of the flight from their land. It is not surprising, therefore, that their concerns on arrival in Britain were not identical with other sections of the working class. They were divided from them by their location in the labour market, their religion and their national identity. In the 1830-1850 period the

dominant preoccupation of public authorities was the prevention of the disruption of public order. This was achieved by a mixture of reforms, repressive measures and divide-and-rule tactics. However, in this same period the governments of the day and some groupings in Parliament became increasingly concerned to initiate measures which, in the long term, would transform the working class into an appropriate labour force and citizenry. The wide recognition of the necessity of Irish labour meant that policies to incorporate the Irish in Britain developed as part of transformative strategies towards the working class as a whole.

One of the tenets of this thesis is that the Irish were 'visible' in the 19th century and rendered 'invisible' in the 20th century. The very visibility of the Irish in the last century called forth strategies that were to have repercussions still a century later, when there was another sustained and large migration to Britain from Ireland. However, the migrants of the mid-20th century went about their lives in Britain 'unseen'. In exploring certain aspects of the relationship between the British State, the Catholic Church and the Irish in Britain this thesis hopes to suggest some of the crucial features of these strategies and the means by which the Irish came to be rendered invisible. The hypothesis that Catholic elementary education formed part of a specific response to the Irish in Britain will be tested in the next three chapters. The suggestion is that Catholic schools were responsible for segregating and differentiating the Irish from the rest of the working class and formed the basis of attempts to incorporate children of Irish migrants. The intention is to explore the circumstances in which a separate Catholic elementary school system, funded by the State, developed to educate the children of Irish migrants. It is useful to turn first to a consideration of the relationship between the Catholic Church and Irish communities in Britain.

2. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The essential outlines of relations between the Catholic Church and the British State have been dealt with in chapter one. Suffice it to reiterate here that the British national State was founded on Protestantism and anti-Catholicism. It was the existence of 'an internal 'papist' enemy, as well as the neighbouring popish Irish' which underpinned national unity. As already noted, the passage of the Relief Acts in the 18th century represented expedience at a time of war rather than a widespread diminution in hostility to Catholicism. Although many of the prohibitions on Catholic religious practice were relaxed, restrictions on the participation of Catholics in public life remained in place after the second Relief Act became law in 1791. Catholics were still prevented from becoming Members of Parliament and from taking up various public offices. After the experience of the Penal era, and with continuing political suppression, it became paramount for many English Catholics to prove themselves 'an ultra-loyal minority' (Holmes 1978). The necessity to prove their loyalty to the State remained a characteristic after the attainment of Catholic emancipation in 1829. It was to be a decisive factor in their relations with the Irish migrants already swelling the ranks of Catholics in England by the end of the 18th century.

English Catholics at the turn of the 19th century were small in number and were dominated by members of the aristocracy and landed gentry. Throughout much of the 18th century the number of Catholics, priests and missions were both declining. According to Holt (1969), in 1773 it is estimated that there were 886 priests and 59,500 Catholics in England and Wales. In the final quarter of the 18th century the number of priests remained at between 350 and 400 and their congregation at 'something over 60,000' (Holt 1969: 4). For the previous two centuries the leadership of the English Catholics had been part of the inheritance of the landed and titled aristocracy and gentry who had remained with the Church. Many of them lived far from the capital, their strongholds were areas such as Durham, Lancashire and Shropshire. As a consequence of their wealth and local influence many eventually became Justices of the Peace and deputy

lieutenants and were able to survive the Penal Laws. The political leadership of English Catholics:

> was drawn therefore from a squirearchy which except for religion was indistinguishable from the class which had governed England since the Glorious Revolution. (Altholz 1964: 90)

When English Catholics contemplated Irish Catholics, possibly at mass, packed into the standing-room area at the back of their churches, or traversing the countryside on their way to the next harvest, they were confronted with people who were distinguishable from themselves on every count except one, their religious denomination, Roman Catholicism (Gwynn 1950).

Norman (1985) argues that, because of the statistical insignificance of the Catholic middle class at the start of the 19th century, the Catholic traditional landed group and a newly self-conscious priesthood were the major influences in English Catholic development. There were divisions within the English Catholic body, between laity and clergy, and 'Old Catholics' and Ultramontane Catholics. The factors which determined the outcome of these conflicts within the Church were closely intertwined with the presence of Irish migrants in Britain. The main dichotomy between the Ultramontane Catholics and the traditional 'Old Catholics' was their very different conceptions of the Church. For the Ultramontanes the Church in England was part of a Catholic revival sweeping the Continent. The Ultramontanes encouraged the introduction into England of Continental style missions and of religious orders as a means of infusing the Church in England with life after its centuries of 'darkness'. It follows from this that their idea of the focus of the Church should be Rome and the Pope, so incorporating themselves within the general movement of Catholic revival on the Continent, rather than isolating themselves within a specifically English construction of the Church. For the traditional 'Old Catholics', opposite considerations were of importance. They had kept the Church alive in England through centuries of persecution. Because of this and their

class position the 'Old Catholics' wanted the Church's re-emergence to be of a specifically English character (Holmes 1978).

Many of the clergy subscribed to the views of the 'Old Catholics'. However, a shift in the balance of forces within the Church towards the Ultramontanes inevitably reinforced the clerical leadership at the expense of the former lay leadership (Holmes 1978). The appointment of Cardinal Wiseman, a leading Ultramontane, to the see at Westminster was a significant factor in this process. The Ultramontane's commitment to Rome was reflected within the English Church by the assertion of episcopal authority. In addition, the authority of the bishops, and by extension that of the clergy in general, was strengthened as a result of the structural changes the Church was undergoing. As the rural population declined and the numbers of urban-based Catholics rapidly increased, the dominating influence of the Catholic gentry declined and that of the clergy increased. By the mid-19th century the majority of these city-dwelling Catholics were Irish migrants.

The divide between the Ultramontanes and the 'Old Catholics' involved not only different conceptions of what English Catholicism should be but also different relations with the Irish part of the congregation in Britain. Many of the traditional Catholics, both laity and clergy, wedded to a specifically English Catholicism, were alarmed at the arrival of Irish Catholics. They might share the same religion, although some doubted this, but differences of class and nationality were overriding. Derogatory views of the Irish (see Bishop 1877, Ward 1915) and their religious practices were common among English Catholics. Norman comments that the 'Old Catholic' gentry had settled their opinion of Irish Catholicism long before the increase in migration from Ireland in the mid-19th century. One member of the Catholic gentry, Sir John Throckmorton, wrote in 1806, 'The religion of the low Irish forms a strange assemblage of strong faith and much superstition' (quoted in Norman 1985:21). The attitudes of English Catholics to Irish migrants were similar to Protestant members of their class and nationality. These attitudes were transfused with an extra caution in the case of English Catholics. Their quest for legitimacy and respectability commenced rather than terminated with Catholic emancipation in 1829 (Holmes 1978). Indebted though they were to the Irish campaign for

the extension of Catholics political rights, English Catholics regretted that emancipation became largely an Irish issue (Norman 1985), and the presence of Irish migrants in Britain was not welcome.

The anti-Irish hostility which was a crucial element in English Catholicism was at odds with the fact that it was the migration of the Irish which afforded substantial expansion of the Church in Britain. It was the Ultramontane clergy who were in a position to attempt the resolution of this contradiction. The Ultramontanes were no less committed to demonstrating their loyalty to the British State, but their vision of what the Church should be more readily included the notion of a 'dutiful and religious' Irish congregation under the umbrella of Rome (Norman 1985). In this context the Irish responded more to Ultramontanism. This was not only because Ultramontane Catholics were active proponents of 'missions to the poor' but also because their fidelity to and championing of Roman authority was more acceptable to the Irish than an aristocratic English Catholicism (Archer 1986).

Bossy (1975) argues that this alliance between the Ultramontane tendencies amongst the clergy and the Irish was one in which the latter were mere parish fodder for the aggrandisement of the episcopacy. No doubt this view represents an accurate description of the gathering momentum of the episcopal machine, nevertheless it marginalises the significance of the Irish contribution at the expense of a full understanding of the situation. The Irish contribution to the Church, in the first instance, was numbers. By the 1840s it was clear that a substantial proportion of any growth of the Church would derive from the rapidly increasing numbers of Irish Catholic migrants and their descendants. Bossy estimates that the Irish contribution to the expansion of the Church by 1850 was 70 per cent. Given the points already made in chapter two on the underestimation of the Irish presence, it is probable that his assessment is a conservative one. On any tabulation the Irish augmented the Catholic Church in Britain on a massive scale.

Bossy insists that the character of the Catholic Church would have changed without Irish migration, from a small secluded rural institution of gentry farmers, agricultural labourers and rural craftsmen into a larger

urban-based Church of labourers, handicraftsmen, tradesmen and business and professional families. This may well be true, but without the Irish migration the Catholic Church would have remained a relatively small institution. The arrival of Irish migrants transformed the social-class profile of Catholic congregations in urban areas (Champ 1989), and without this migration the Church would not have developed its reputation as the only one of the major denominations with a close relationship with its working-class membership. It was the migration of large numbers of Irish Catholics to Britain which resuscitated the Catholic Church as an institution. New parishes had to be established, many churches and schools built, and large numbers of priests recruited in order to cater for the rapid expansion of the Church's membership. The 'mission to the Irish' had been underway in a spasmodic and patchy fashion since the 18th century. However, from the 1830s onwards it became more systematic and was increasingly directed by an Ultramontane episcopacy.

In summary, it is clear that the Catholic Church underwent great changes in the 19th century as a consequence of Catholic emancipation and the arrival of large numbers of Irish migrants. The Irish were as much of an influence on the development of the Church as the 'Old Catholics' and the Ultramontane hierarchy. The circumstances in which the Church formulated its strategies towards the Irish were dominated by certain contradictions. The Church continued to operate under conditions of political constraint and English Catholics, after centuries of persecution, were defensive about their religion and maintained a low public profile. The Church was, however, being transformed by the arrival of Irish migrants who were casual unskilled labourers, branded from all quarters as destitute, disease-ridden and unruly, and involved in many political activities which the State viewed as suspect, thus threatening the respectability of Catholicism in England. The Church, if not all English Catholics, saw in the arrival of Irish Catholics an opportunity for growth. In part owing their renewed ascendancy to the Irish, the increasingly Ultramontane clerical leadership developed a mission to the Irish in Britain.

3. THE MISSION

A number of Catholic histories acknowledge that the Irish were significant in the development of the Catholic Church in Britain (see Ward 1915, Gywnn 1950, Bossy 1975). Despite this claim there has been a marked absence of sustained study of the Irish and the Church. Those histories which describe the policies of the Church towards the Irish define its prime goal as the prevention of 'leakage', that is, stemming the drift of baptised Catholics from the Church. Catholic histories suggest that the struggle against leakage primarily involved the logistical marshalling of the potentially dutiful and religious Irish masses. The contention in this thesis is that this represents a narrow conception of the English Catholic Church's mission towards the Irish.

One writer, Connolly (1984, 1985), does pay sustained attention to the impact of the Irish on the Church in the 19th century. Connolly places the struggle against leakage at centre stage in his analysis of the Church in the 19th century and in so doing has challenged its relative marginalisation in most Catholic histories. Connolly's aim is to demonstrate that the determinate influence on the Church was the 'non-practising Irish', as there can be no doubt that baptised non-practice among the Irish was the central issue for the clergy of the English mission in the 19th century (Connolly 1985). The struggle to stem the drift of the Irish from the Church became, in Connolly's view, the Church's priority, because it was appropriate for a clerical body who saw the arrival of the Irish as an opportunity to build a jurisdictional power base. It was these strategies which shaped the Church during the last century. In turn, Connolly argues that it was this mission of the Church which formed Irish Catholics in Britain into what they became. By the end of the 19th century he estimates that about 55 per cent of baptised Irish Catholics practised their faith. This compares with about 30 per cent during the first half of the century. The sole instrument of this improvement was the 'mission to the Irish poor'.

The contention in this thesis is that relations between the Catholic Church and the Irish were pivotal for the development of the Church in the 19th century, but for different reasons than those advanced by Connolly.

The points of divergence between Connolly's account and the argument being developed here lie in two areas. First, Connolly's deduction that it was the non-practising Irish Catholics who were the formative influence on Church development seems misconstructed. Second, his assumption that the mission to the Irish was primarily concerned with the prevention of lapsing ignores the other intentions the Church had towards its Irish congregation.

There are a number of problems with the way Connolly analyses the relationship of the non-practising Irish to the Catholic Church. To begin with, he dismisses rather briskly the reasons often advanced for the non-attendance of the Irish at church. Lees (1979) has outlined what were perceived as the main reasons for this leakage:

> Mixed marriages, irreligious parents, Protestant schools, and the anti-Catholicism of Poor Law guardians worked together to produce what one Catholic writer called 'the perpetual draining away of the children of the poorer classes'. (Lees 1979:183)

In addition, the conditions in which the Irish lived and worked were assumed not to encourage the disciplined practice of their religion. Connolly's view is that, however plausible any one of these factors might be considered in isolation, none of them offers more than a very partial explanation of why a staggering number of baptised Catholic Irish men and women in Britain did not practise their religion. The point is that the reasons why the Irish did not practise their religion cannot and should not be taken in isolation. Taken together, all these reasons are part of the complex situation which formed the experience of the Irish in Britain.

Overriding all these possible reasons for lapsing amongst Irish Catholics was the fact that there was insufficient Church accommodation until towards the end of the 19th century. Also the segregated areas in many churches, designed to reap an income through rented pews, served to divide the congregation on the basis of class and thus of nationality and, as such, hardly encouraged Irish participation. Connolly implicitly accepts this when, writing elsewhere, he describes Angel Meadow in Manchester:

> an ostracised community that included at least eleven thousand baptized Catholics was held at bay by civilised society, a few hundred of them creeping to mass to observe their religion by English Catholic standards. For the rest, fiercely Catholic and devout though many of them obviously were, such observance appeared to amount to a hooly on a Patron Day or haphazard attendance at the station of one of the itinerant Irish 'Fathers' passing uninvited through Irish Town, to the mortified chagrin of the local English priests. (Connolly 1982:193)

Connolly's own work, therefore, demonstrates that a range of obstacles will have prevented widespread practice by the Irish of their religion. Thus his rather incautious reliance on the statistics of practice as a gauge of the religiosity of the Irish is undermined by his own observations.

A contrasting view of the situation is offered by Lowe (1976) in his investigation of Irish Catholics in Lancashire. His analysis disputes the reliability of assessing the impact and importance of the Catholic Church for the Irish in Britain by considering lapsation rates. Lowe delineates the role of the Church as that of a depressurising agent for the Irish migrants. It enabled them to adjust to 'urban life in an alien world'. The Church was much more important as a social and organisational agency to the Lancashire Irish than as a means to eternal bliss. It was the Church which provided, through its parish organisation, the framework for the development of an Irish community social life. This formed the basis for the emergence of a 'mature' Irish Catholic identity. The strength of this Irish community awareness stemmed from the social agency provided by the Church which helped to foster intra-communal communication. Lowe's thesis, therefore, is that the reach of the Church went well beyond those who practised their religion. By showing that most of the important organisations started for and by the Irish (for example, friendly societies) were under the auspices of the Catholic Church, and by demonstrating that the Irish press was the Catholic press, Lowe illustrates that beyond question the influence of the Church and Catholicism extended to many more than the faithful who regularly went to mass.

Lowe's assessment of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the wider Irish community seems more plausible than Connolly's, particularly for the main urban areas of Irish settlement. If it were correct that the influence of the Church was only effective with those who practised their religion, it would be necessary to deduce that the Irish who were most likely to demonstrate their national fervour on St Patrick's Day, or to protest when an itinerant Protestant preacher visited their area, were the Irish Catholics who regularly attended mass. It was on just these occasions that parish priests are recorded as having most influence in containing, stopping or even preventing events which they and other public authorities viewed as most disruptive of public order. In fact, a more reasonable assumption is that such activities were carried out both by Irish people who practised their religion and by those who did not. It is evident that for both groups of Irish Catholics the arrival of the priest was an event imbued with significance and his arrival elicited the appropriate response (see Burke 1910, Lowe 1976, Lees 1979).

What both Connolly and Lowe miss is that the Church's mission to the Irish involved much more than the saving of souls. The mission was not solely concerned with turning non-attenders into regular Church-goers. The aim was also to win practising members away from a particular version of Catholicism which was taken to be 'Irish'. The mission also entailed a direct intervention to influence the political activities of the Irish in Britain and reform what was seen as the propensity of the Irish for disorderly behaviour. Thus strategies to combat leakage were not only directed at those beyond the ambit of the Church. As much these strategies were designed to cohere those who were practising. Regularising the religious practices of Irish migrants was one means of achieving these objectives; it was necessary if both the respectability of the Church and the expansion in its numbers were to be maintained.

The struggle to stem the drift from the Church was a central element of the mission to the Irish. However, the contention here is that the Church's mission to the Irish involved much more than the saving of souls. The aim of the Church was not only to prevent Irish migrants and their children lapsing but also to actively win the Irish away from certain

political practices and to control them through the reform of what was seen as the propensity of the Irish for disorderly behaviour. Specific activities were organised to entice back those who had lapsed, for example the court missions of the 1830s and 1840s, but also attention was given to activities intended to draw those practising their religion away from organisations the Church disapproved of, for example, trade unions or Ribbon societies. In addition, the temperance movement was directed at both practising and non-practising Catholics. A multifaceted mission was thus constructed. This was necessary because, although lapsing was a major problem for the Church, this was by no means the only dichotomy which shaped the English Catholic Church's policy towards the Irish. A further aspect of the mission of the Catholic Church to the Irish in Britain will now be examined in more detail.

4. DENATIONALISATION AND TRANSFORMATION

The argument here is that even the most Ultramontane priest favourably disposed towards his Irish parishioners was part of an enterprise whose ultimate aim was the incorporation and denationalization of Irish Catholics. Lees (1979) points out that only a few of the communal rituals characteristic of Irish Catholicism survived the transplantation to Britain. Prominent amongst these were wakes and the belief in the magical power of the clergy. She cites examples of how the clergy did what they could to discourage belief in their healing powers and banned wakes altogether. Lees describes how the linguistic medium of folktales and of traditional Irish culture did not disappear immediately after migration but it atrophied in the city. This she attributes to the fact that:

> The one institution that might have helped to save the language, the Roman Catholic Church, had no real interest in doing so. Schools taught exclusively in English, and the London Catholic hierarchy did very little to encourage the continued use of Irish by the clergy. Both Cardinal Wiseman and Bishop Griffiths, whose authority over the London Catholic Church stretched from the early 1840s to

> 1865, were reportedly reluctant to use Irish priests in the diocese. Only 5 of 106 priests in 1842 in the London diocese could speak Irish. (Lees 1979: 189)

There is evidence that many of the migrants in the mid-19th century spoke Irish (see Gywnn 1950), but in these circumstances the use of the language inevitably stagnated. The dearth of Irish priests also ensured that there was minimal support for Irish Catholic practices not approved of by the English Catholic Church.

Before the increased migration of the 1840s there was a shortage of priests, especially in the industrial areas of northern England. Treble comments that:

> The surprising thing is that down to 1850 relatively few priests seem to have been recruited for the North of England missions in Ireland. (Treble 1970: 93)

Bossy (1975) estimates that as late as 1840 there were only 60 Irish priests working in England, most of whom were in Lancashire. This absence of Irish priests reflected both an antipathy to Irish Catholicism on the part of the English Catholic Church and fear of the possible repercussions if Irish priests tended the Irish members of the Catholic flock.

Nicholson (1985), writing about the situation in the north-east of England, confirms this. He States that there were only a handful of Irish priests trained in Irish colleges who were on the diocesan strength throughout the 19th century. This was in part due to the large numbers of Irish priests who went to North America in response to appeals for Irish priests. However, he also indicates that, although the North East did not have grave pastoral problems, caused in some other areas by strong political feeling on the Irish question, the bishop still showed 'great caution in avoiding any involvement in politics'. This apparently resulted in a reluctance to appoint Irish priests in case they fermented the inclinations of 'the Irish poor'.

In 1845 Bishop Riddell, of the North East, wrote to Bishop Brown, of the Welsh district, about a successful experiment in using an Irish ex-Dominican to fill a short-term vacancy in one of his parishes. Brown was considering appointing the same Irish priest and Riddell advised him in the following terms:

> In regard to the... inquiry made by your lordship whether there is anything in his character, disposition or conduct that would make him troublesome among the Irish - I should say no - unless I am very much mistaken. He kept very much by himself and always professed a disinclination to mix with the low Irish and take part in their squabbles, and he certainly gave me no reason to complain of him in that respect, indeed quite the reverse. He is ready at preaching and teaches well and works well provided he may have plenty to do. (Nicholson 1985: 19)

This suggests that a certain docility and distance from the concerns of fellow nationals was required of Irish priests if they were to gain a placement in Britain. Even if they exhibited approved qualities, Irish priests might be subject to scrutiny as to their abilities and work-rate in case they displayed other characteristics expected of the Irish. In areas with larger proportions of Irish parishioners the attitude of the Church towards Irish priests was similar. This meant that in the early period of the mission to the Irish, well into the 1860s, the vast majority of parish priests in the areas in which the Irish were congregated were either British or possibly belonged to a Continental mission. The latter were recruited by Cardinal Wiseman specifically for the Irish areas.

By the 1860s and 1870s the mission to the Irish was only viewed as partially successful. Many Irish people remained beyond the grip of regular practice and the widespread support for Fenianism in the 1860s was seen to necessitate some response on the part of the Church. Parishes began to use certain Irish symbols, in particular saints' names, in order to widen the appeal of Catholic organisations for the Irish in their congregations. Lees

describes how the Church used methods which encouraged the expression of certain aspects of Irish Catholicism and Irish nationalism:

> migrants were encouraged to retain their identities as Irish Catholics. Priests consciously used Irish symbols to draw migrants into Church activities. Through the naming of associations and parish churchs for Irish saints and the elaborate Church parish celebrations of St Patrick's Day, they united the appeal of religion with that of nationalism... Migrants would disgrace their country if they showed a 'want of love for practical religion'. Political struggles against English were subsumed under religious struggles and the national character of the Irish was defined in terms of religious loyalties. (Lees 1979: 195)

This was, in fact, a development of the final quarter of the 19th century. It coincided with the era in which Cardinal Manning and Gladstone between them sanctified moderate Irish aspirations. Under Manning the Church realised that to gain the allegiance of the Irish some accommodation must be made to Irish traditions and political aspirations. In the same period Gladstone, in recognising Home Rule as a legitimate political demand, ensured as a result that Irish support for constitutional Home Rule ceased to be viewed as treasonous.

Not all Catholic bishops shared Manning's views on Home Rule for Ireland. Perhaps more typical was Bishop Ullathorne's Pastoral against Fenianism in 1869, which stimulated 'vituperation in the Fenian press' (Norman 1985: 194). However, the long-term aim of the Church was not one which would cause dissension amongst the bishopric, to strengthen the Catholic identity of Irish migrants. In the short term this required the use of Irish symbols but the eventual aim was the denationalization of the Irish Catholics living in Britain. The English Church was trying to win the Irish to a more sober and disciplined practice of their faith. This was integral to their denationalization. The Catholic clergy were, in fact, faced with a severe dilemma in their mission to the Irish, one which

manifested itself from early in the 19th century. This dilemma has been summed up by Gilley (1969) as:

> the priest who espoused the political aspirations of his people divided his church; and the priest who denied the popular voice might destroy the respect which the people paid him and risk the salvation of Irish souls. (Gilley 1969: 123)

Archer (1986), however, argues that if the clergy took up a political position contrary to Irish interests (opposing Fenianism,, for example), this could be disregarded, for, as officials of a sacred religion, they had no business to be involved in politics and 'their meddling pronouncements did not serve to undermine the symbolic function of the Church' (Archer 1986: 56). Although there is undoubtedly some substance to Archer's remarks, they cannot be taken to mean that the politics of the Irish in Britain were of no consequence in relations between the Church and Irish communities. The evidence presented in this thesis is that the Church was faced with a dilemma because of the national identity and politics of the Irish.

This dilemma existed for the Church because of the background and experience of Irish migrants. For the Irish in Britain the fact that their destination was the colonising country defined their experience here. The mass exodus after the famine is usually cited as having ensured that Irish nationalism would be a potent force throughout the Irish diaspora. This is undoubtedly true, but the evidence is that long before the famine the Irish in Britain were politically active in support of Irish national issues and, when not active, this is where their sympathies lay. In these circumstances the Church had to make some compromises or lose its best opportunity for growth. Writing in 1890, Manning stated:

> The million of Irish Catholics in England are not only alienated from our laws and legislature, but would upset the ink-bottle over the Statute Book. So long as this habit of mind lasts we shall never have a Civil

> priesthood; and so long as our priesthood is not Civil it will be confined to the sacristy, as in France, not by a hostile public opinion, but by our own incapacity to mix in the Civil life of the country; and this incapacity hitherto has sprung from hostility, suspicion and fear. A capacity for Civil and public action needs, of course, a training and education, but it springs from a love of our country. The Irish have this intensely for Ireland, but can hardly have it as yet for England. (quoted in Gwynn 1950:267)

Changing this situation was to involve the encouragement of a perspective whereby true Irishness was represented by being a good Catholic. The increased use of Irish priests by the end of the 19th century was crucial to the ultimate success of this policy (Archer 1986).

5. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND IRISH NATIONAL IDENTITY

O Tuathaigh (1985), in an influential article reviewing the available literature on the Irish in 19th-century Britain, argues that, accompanied by their politics, it was the religion of the Irish which conflicted with the norms of behaviour acceptable to British society and thus produced problems of integration. O Tuathaigh warns that it is:

> not enough simply to say that the Catholic Church was a central institution in the lives of the immigrant Irish in Britain. The extent of its influence, and the ways in which this influence manifested itself, call for some elaboration. (O Tuathaigh 1985:24)

This O Tuathaigh sets out to do. He constructs a scenario in which the Catholic Church, motivated by the need to keep its congregation intact, was responsible for encouraging the development of segregated Irish communities:

> The system of Catholic schools, the litany of social, recreational and educational societies sponsored by the Church for its Catholic children, all of these were part of a general strategy whose purpose was the creation, as far as possible, of a self-contained Catholic community of sobriety and solid good behaviour. (O Tuathaigh 1985:26)

These attempts by the Church to reform Irish Catholic 'habits and pieties' and 'raise their tone' are described but not accounted for by O Tuathaigh. The wider circumstances which may have led the Church to develop a strategy of segregation as the means of reinforcing the links between the Church and Irish Catholics are not considered.

When O Tuathaigh turns his attention to aspects of the 'host' society he describes how the Catholicism of the Irish, and their continual association with it, was a barrier to their acceptance by the British. Suspicion of Catholic religious practices in part explained this but also

> ... anti-Catholicism was, in a sense, an integral part of the national myth of both the English and the Scots since the sixteenth century. Loyalty to Rome was seen as compromising loyalty to the national State, involving, as it did the acknowledgement of a jurisdiction albeit a spiritual one, outside the State. (O'Tuathaigh 1985:27)

Despite identifying the political component of anti-Catholicism, O Tuathaigh still emphasises that it was the policies of the Catholic Church that reinforced these tendencies amongst the British. There is no reference to the fact that the context of anti-Catholicism was part of what informed the Church's strategies in the first place. The 'revival' of anti-Catholicism in the mid-19th century is viewed as a response to Irish migration and the Church's own activities. O Tuathaigh further ignores the extent to which anti-Catholicism involved not only 'a continuous, enduring and deep-seated popular British suspicion of Rome' but was also composed of endemic mistrust of Ireland and the Irish.

When O Tuathaigh comments on the anti-Irish attitudes of British Catholics he attributes these attitudes to class and cultural factors. However, he does not examine the implications of these factors for the Catholic Church's project towards the Irish migrants. He presents these anti-Irish attitudes as self-explanatory, given the necessity of British Catholics to prove themselves an ultra-loyal minority. Consequently O Tuathaigh concludes that it was the political role of the immigrant Irish which soured relations between the leaders of the Catholic Irish immigrants and the British Catholic establishment.

The Irish in Britain are therefore firmly positioned by O Tuathaigh as the catalyst of 'the problem'. The revival of anti-Catholicism in 19th-century Britain is portrayed in part as a response to the arrival of the Irish. And the difficulties in the relations between English and Irish Catholics is attributed to the political activities of the Irish. In contrast, this thesis will argue that anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish hostility were part of the already constituted conditions which Irish migrants encountered; and that, because English Catholics substantially shared the anti-Irish views of their fellow countrymen, a mission to the Irish was constructed which inevitably aimed to transform the politics of the Irish in Britain.

O Tuathaigh does not analyse the position of British Catholics in detail because, like other assimilation theorists, his focus is on the problems caused by the arrival of the migrants. For example, this lack of sustained investigation of the British/English Catholics allows O Tuathaigh to assume that support for an Ultramontane Church and for moderate brands of Irish nationalism came to permeate Roman Catholic rhetoric, rituals and social life in England by the latter part of the 19th century. For O Tuathaigh this represents the successful moulding of the Church into an Irish Catholic institution. Somehow the Irish are supposed to have achieved this transformation even though, as Norman states:

> The leadership of the Church was never taken over by the Irish, as it was in the United States or the British overseas territories: most bishops continued to come from

> traditional Catholic families and from the convert elements. (Norman 1985:7)

There was a distinct relationship between the anti-Irishness of British Catholics and their strategies of containment of the Irish. It will be argued in this thesis that this resulted in the Catholic authorities and central government having similar aims towards the Irish in Britain. A review of relations between the Catholic Church and the Irish in Britain should take account of the full circumstances and conditions which governed the formulation of the Catholic Church's strategies towards the Irish. Even a brief sketch of these full circumstances requires an examination of the relationship of the Catholic Church and the British State in the first half of 19th century. Without this dimension it is difficult to grasp the full significance of the strategies towards the Irish launched in the 1830s and their consequences later in the century.

The Church not only formulated strategies towards the Irish in the context of escalating anti-Catholicism but also it was shaping a mission to a community which had other means of cohesion. It is true that the Irish were dislocated after migration, as Lees points out, but, once here the Irish quickly established their own means of social organisation, particularly for finding work and lodgings. The church, if there was one, would often be utilised as a meeting point or even refuge, but so too increasingly would the public house. It was a long drawn-out process before the Church was to exercise anything approaching hegemony in the Irish areas. The Church had to respond to the specific needs of the Irish and it was often through such activities that the priest became established. For example, there are many records of the undoubted 'heroism' of many Catholic priests during the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1848 which affected the Irish areas of the large northern cities more than any others (Connolly 1984). Demonstrations of such commitment were what could bind a parish to its priests. In other areas, especially London, the Church established itself by holding regular and elaborate court missions, so it was a religious rather than social dimension which was to the fore.

Lowe argues that a 'mature' Irish identity developed by the 1860s as a result of the establishment of Catholic parishes. What this interpretation obscures is the extent to which the English Church had always had to deal with Irish communities with a 'mature' identity. This was a complex identity based on their social class, religion and national identity, each aspect expressed in a variety of activities. This, in fact, was the heart of the Church's dilemma. There is no doubt about the religiosity of the Irish in Britain, the evidence abounds in the Mayhew Report in 1850 and Booth's Reports of the end of the century. However, throughout the 19th century the influence of the Church as an institution always fell short of being all-embracing, and was never sufficient to marginalise the importance of Irish national politics, or later of participation in the labour movement, for Irish communities. Despite this the English Catholic Church forged a relationship with Irish communities as a consequence of its mission to the Irish. A prime focus of the present study is the long-term consequences of this relationship for Irish identity in Britain.

6. CONCLUSION

The mission of the English Catholic Church to the Irish in Britain was constructed in the aftermath of the Penal era, at a time when English Catholics were concerned to demonstrate their loyalty to the British State. The differences which existed between English and Irish Catholics, class and national identity, strengthened the Ultramontane wing of the clergy at the expense of the 'Old Catholic' laity and ensured that the episcopacy were the architects of the mission to the Irish. The twin aims of the mission were the prevention of leakage and the incorporation of Irish migrants and their children. As such both practising and non-practising Irish Catholics were equally the object of the mission of the Church.

The Catholic Church developed its mission to the Irish in the context of escalating anti-Catholicism and in the context of an Irish congregation who had different political and social priorities to those of the Church. The aim of the case study in the next two chapters is to explore how both anti-Catholicism and the class and national characteristics of the Irish

shaped the development of Catholic elementary education policies. The education of the children of Irish migrants, the second-generation Irish, became a central strand of the mission of the English Catholic Church to Irish Catholics in Britain. It is hoped that through this detailed study of Catholic education it will be possible to throw further light on whether the segregation of Irish communities was primarily the consequence of the activities of the Church and on the nature of the relationship which existed between the Church and Irish communities.

CHAPTER FIVE

CATHOLIC EDUCATION: THE SEGREGATION AND DIFFERENTIATION OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

1. INTRODUCTION

It is the object of chapters five and six to examine more closely the particular example of the schooling of the children of Irish working-class migrants. The hypothesis is that state-assisted Catholic elementary schooling was viewed as the principal long-term means of resolving the 'problem' the Irish Catholic working class posed. Catholic schools were to have a dual role: they 'dealt' with the Irish by attempting to incorporate them and simultaneously segregated and differentiated them.

Most general histories of education omit any analysis of Catholic schooling (for example, see Sutherland 1971, Johnson 1970 and 1978). If mentioned, Catholic schools usually warrant footnotes or quick asides which indicate that they existed and faced particular problems because of the poverty of the pupils. Or else they are bracketed with other groupings fighting for denominational education and, therefore, accorded no singularity. Explanations of the development of elementary education and of the particular difficulties which surrounded the establishment of a national system fall into two main categories: either religion or social class forms the locus of the analysis. The small number of general historical studies which do address the question of Catholic education do so within the framework of one or other of these approaches.

Many accounts of the development of the education system isolate the 'religious difficulty' as the chief reason for the relatively late enactment of a national system of education in England and Wales. With few exceptions these accounts pinpoint the impetus towards state intervention

in education as stemming from the upheaval and social problems which were the consequence of industrialisation, rapid urbanisation and the political agitation of the 1830s and 1840s. The State is depicted as the agent of modernisation and progress thwarted by religious sectarianism. Catholic schooling is positioned as an addendum to the primary struggle between the Church of England and the Non-Conformist sects. The argument here is that solely highlighting the dichotomy between Anglicanism and Dissent renders invisible the influence of anti-Catholicism in shaping the development of elementary education.

Analyses which give priority to social class as the means of understanding educational development often tend to downgrade the significance of religious differences These class analyses view the 'religious difficulties' of 19th-century elementary education as important only in so far as they indicate one of the mechanisms by which the working class wws ruled (see Simon 1965, Johnson 1970 and 1978). The working class is portrayed as demonstrating their wishes concerning the schooling of their children by demanding in different periods either alternative democratically controlled institutions to those offered by voluntary societies, or secular education provided by the State.

The contention here is that class-based studies ignore the fact that the working class was not a homogenous entity, apart from divisions based on different skill levels. There were national and religious differences between groups of workers from the beginning of the century. The working class as a whole prior to 1850 was perceived by national and municipal government, the church's and other agencies as presenting a problem of order. Distinctions were already being made between different sections of the working class and the applicability of different strategies. The proposition here is that Irish Catholics were understood to require specific attention and that education was seen as a means to 'deal' with the Irish. Education was frequently advanced as the solution to the problem of order within the working class and the educational debate of the 1830s and 1840s was in part constructed by the issue of the education of Irish Catholics.

In this chapter the intention is to explore the wider context of the development of Catholic elementary schooling in the 19th century. This is the first attempt to reconstruct the history of the relationship between Catholic education and the British State as an enterprise determined by its objectives concerning the schooling of the children of Irish working-class migrants. The State and the Catholic Church both had their own rationale for drawing the Irish into any arrangements agreed for elementary education. A significant period for the development of elementary education was from the date of the first government grant for school buildings in 1833 to the awarding of state aid to Roman Catholic schools in 1847. Later the Education Acts of 1870 and 1902 were the legislative landmarks. The intention here is to examine the issues, debates and proposals through which the 'Roman Catholic problem' in education was articulated in the debates of the 1830s and 1840s. The aim is to investigate the basis upon which Catholic schools became segregated.

The chapter commences with an account of the 'Irish System', a system of interdenominational education introduced into Ireland in 1831 and influential in the education debates in Britain in the 1830s. In the next section the proselytising activities directed towards Irish Catholic children are examined because of their impact on the formation of the education policies of the Catholic Church in Britain. Next the government's awareness of the problem of the education of Irish Catholic children is considered within the parameters of the State's developing views on the necessity of educating the working class as a whole. The Corporation Schools Experiment in Liverpool in the mid-1830s, which was centrally concerned with the education of Irish Catholics, took place at a critical period for determining the structure of the national education system. After describing the Corporation Schools Experiment and the opposition it aroused, the chapter concludes by reviewing the government's educational initiatives of 1839 and 1843 and the eventual awarding of grant-aid to Roman Catholic schools in 1847.

2. THE 'IRISH SYSTEM'

The introduction of a national system of education to Ireland at an early date represented a willingness to fund elementary education for one-third of the population of the United Kingdom. A national system was not established in England, Wales and Scotland until the 1870s. This difference in educational practice in different parts of the same state receives remarkably little analysis in most histories of education produced in Britain. Murphy's (1959) comment is one that is generally echoed and not developed·

> ... the government in London had begun to establish in Ireland what it had shown no disposition to set up in England - a system of education for the children of the poor which was assisted from state funds and was intended to benefit children of all denominations. (Murphy 1959: 24)

The context for this innovation was the crisis of 'order' in Ireland in the early 1830s. The introduction of the education system to Ireland is an example of the fact that, although Ireland was a constituent part of the United Kingdom, it was administered and governed as a colony. Thus education proposals were enacted in Ireland which could not at that point be considered in any other part of the state.

There was a long history of government-subsidised schemes of education in Ireland (Akenson 1970). At the begining of the 19th century, in the first years of the Union, the problem of education in Ireland was not considered to lie in a lack of schools and the ignorance of the Irish peasantry Rather it was the worrying nature of the existing schools, 'hedge schools', which gave cause for concern. The 'hedge schools' were so called because they often took place under hedges to escape detection during the penal era in Ireland. This view is summarised in one of the Reports of the Commission appointed in 1806 to inquire into the state of education in Ireland:

> ... If we were merely to consider the extent to which instruction is administered we might perhaps be led to the conclusion that hardly any country is so amply provided with the means of education, but when we take into consideration, not merely the quantity, but the quality of these means, the extent becomes an additional and imperious reason for interference and alteration. (Dowling 1971:106)

What worried the Commissioners was that the 'hedge schools' were under no control, fees were paid by parents, and they were owned by the schoolmasters who taught in them. The schoolmasters were considered to be incompetent and antagonistic to constituted authority and the cause of much political disquiet.

In one work of reference on Ireland in common usage in the early 19th century the following assessment occurs:

> The people of Ireland are... universally educated... I do not know any part of Ireland so wild that its inhabitants are not anxious... for the education of their children, yet crowded gaols, ferocious turbulence, habitual sloth, gloomy bigotry, are traits in the Irish character, constantly exhibited to the public view. How can such faults exist where the people are educated? (quoted in Corcoran 1932:99)

Attempts to answer this question invariably attributed the inadequacy of education existing in Ireland to the poor quality of the Roman Catholic schoolmasters to whom the education of the peasantry was left. The consequence of leaving the education of the peasantry to these schoolmasters was considered to be that the pupils imbibed from them enmity to England, hatred of the government, and superstitious veneration for old and absurd customs (Corcoran 1932). One consequence of these fears about the 'hedge schools' was that during the following 20 years considerable sums of money were voted in Westminster to aid voluntary societies in the education of the children of the Irish poor.

The voluntary societies were mainly Protestant education societies which, along with other Protestant organisations, attempted a 'Second Reformation' in Ireland in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Akenson 1970). One effect of these proselytising activities was to persuade the Roman Catholic hierarchy into being part of an Irish educational consensus constructed by the government. This ultimately made it possible to launch a scheme of national education in 1831. It would have been impossible to implement a nationwide education scheme without the backing of the Catholic Church, and the scheme the government eventually proposed was designed to ensure that support. The principal object of the government's education plan for Ireland was to secure the Church as an ally, in order to deal more effectively with public disorder and the various challenges to British rule. The problem for the administration at Dublin Castle was the peasantry and their economic and political discontent at a time when the exigencies of colonial government were wreaking great changes in agricultural production in Ireland.

An alliance with the Catholic Church had emerged as an object of policy with the relaxation of the Penal Laws, and was indicated in the first grant to Maynooth College for the training of Catholic priests in 1795 While the Protestant societies viewed it as their duty to proselytise Irish Catholics, the realisation was dawning in government circles that there was little hope for this strategy in Ireland Speaking in Parliament in 1826 Robert Peel outlined succinctly the alternative strategy to be pursued.

> It was during the time that I held office as Secretary for Ireland that the Kildare Street Society was instituted to superintend the general education of the Poor of that country. As the conversion of the Roman Catholics was quite out of the question, it was considered desirable to improve them by education. I do not wish to see the children educated like the inhabitants of that part of that country to which the honourable member belongs, where the young peasants of Kerry ran about in rags, with a Cicero or a Virgil under their arms. In my opinion, this is not the

> education which will best fit them for the usual purposes of life. (Corcoran 1932: 287)

This statement indicates that the desirable course to transform the Irish peasantry was to convert them to Protestantism, which carried both a class and a national message. As this was not possible, 'secular' education was the other resort.

Despite the best efforts of the proselytising societies, by the mid-1820s the Catholic children at school were still in the main attending the old independent pay-schools. A change of policy by the government was required if it were to attain its objectives in Ireland. In 1828 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, chaired by Thomas Spring-Rice, examined the reports of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry 1825-27 and with them the reports of the previous Royal Commission of 1807-12. The Select Committee passed a series of resolutions in favour of the establishment of a system of education in Ireland, in which no attempt was to be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sect or denomination of Christians.

The system of education the Select Committee recommended entailed combined moral and literary instruction being given in common to Catholics and Protestants in the same school. At the same time, facilities were to be made available to enable religious instruction to be given separately by the clergy of each denomination. A Board of Commissioners would be appointed by the government and the Board would distribute grants to supplement local contributions and help to build and support primary schools. The qualifications of teachers were to be tested by examination in a model school under the control of the government. In addition there was to be a system of inspection of schools.

The recommendations of the Select Committee were well received by the Irish Catholic prelates. Although their preference was for a Catholic education system, the Catholic hierarchy was, in practice, prepared to accept a combined system as long as only 'extracts' from the Scriptures were read in the common period of instruction. In contrast, the

authorities of the established Church and the Presbyterians vigorously opposed the report of the Select Committee. They objected to the separation of literary from religious instruction and the requirement that each child attend his or her place of worship every Sunday, a practice that would lead to Protestants being forced to encourage attendance of Catholic children at mass. The circumstances were not auspicious for the early enactment of the committee's proposals. The furore over Catholic emancipation was in full flight, and the Tory government headed by Wellington and Peel was not willing to instigate a new education system in Ireland as well. In practice the passage of Catholic emancipation in 1829 made inevitable the creation of a national system of education along lines acceptable to the Roman Catholics. In Ireland in the 1830s, therefore, the State and the Catholic Church were in favour of interdenominational education and the Anglicans and Presbyterians favoured denominational education (Akenson 1970).

It is the contention here that the National System set up in 1831, based mainly on the recommendations of the 1828 Select Committee, institutionalised the chief intentions of the British State in Ireland· the restoration of order, Anglicisation, and proselytisation. This becomes apparent on examining the composition of the Board of Commissioners and the statements of the Commissioners and government officials. Despite the vigorous opposition of the Anglicans and Presbyterians, they dominated the Board of Commissioners compared with the Catholics who had lobbied for the new system of education. This imbalance in the composition of the Board in a country which was seven-eighths Roman Catholic was to be the source of much complaint from the Catholics at a later date. However, it was acquiesced to at this stage by Dr Murray, the Archbishop of Dublin. Although the decisions of the Commissioners were subject to negotiation, the inbuilt strength of the Protestant representation did have significant effects in the early years of the 'Irish System'.

This was particularly noticeable in the selection of the 'Scripture extracts' and in the preparation of the textbooks which were a distinctive feature of the 'Irish System'. None of the early series of textbooks produced by the Irish Commissioners, which became the most widely

distributed and influential of textbooks in the United Kingdom in the mid-19th century, was written by a Catholic. The content of these books is examined in more detail in chapter six. Suffice it to state here that the essential purpose of these books was to inculcate a certain world view and to reinforce a certain character structure (Repo 1974). In this way, to the children of farmers and artisans, who now had access to public schools, were transmitted the virtues that would make them obedient to authority and content with their role in life.

In the context of Ireland this amounted to Anglicisation through the conveyance of Protestant values portrayed as generalised Christian values. The fact that the Catholic Church initially supported this strategy is not proof that in reality a common Christian teaching was arrived at. The Irish Catholic hierarchy was divided over the National System of Education from its inception. In the first half of the 19th century the Catholic Church in Ireland was waging its own struggle for the hearts and minds of the Irish peasantry, and many saw the advent of a national system of schools, in which the Church was guaranteed one day a week in which to tutor its pupils in the formalised teaching of the Church as a 'heaven sent' opportunity. Thus the objections of the Catholic church to the national system were at first limited to requests that not all the 'Scripture extracts' be from the authorised version of the Bible.

The issue of the 'Scripture extracts' is important because they formed the one element of religious content during the common period of 'moral and literary' instruction. Lord Stanley, the chief Secretary in Ireland in 1831 and responsible for overseeing the introduction of the National System, made it clear, writing later in the decade about the government's intentions, that one aim had been to give the great majority of the Roman Catholic population 'as extensive a knowledge of Scripture truth as they could be induced to receive'. He went on to declare that the 'Irish System':

> ... never was supported as the best possible education for Protestants taken separately; but as the most Protestant, because the most Scriptural education which could be given

> to Protestants and Roman Catholics jointly... (Murphy 1959: 64)

There was, therefore, a clear recognition that the Roman Catholics were the only denomination who objected to unrestricted use of the Scriptures in Schools. Consequently, any system of education which aimed at jointly educating Catholics and Protestants could not enforce mandatory reading of the Bible in a manner thought appropriate by Protestants. However, it was still possible within these constraints to deliver as Protestant an education as possible. This was the compromise which Stanley thought the 'Irish System' represented.

The crucial point was the premise that it was desirable to educate Protestants and Catholics together. Stanley's rationale to justify this states that the aim was 'to diminish the violence of religious animosity' by making it possible for Protestant and Roman Catholic children to associate 'in a system of education in which both might join, and in which the large majority, who were opposed to the religion of the state, might practically see how much there was in that religion, common to their own' (Murphy 1959: 64). The ostensible reason for educating Protestants and Catholics together was to lessen sectarianism, which was depicted as largely emanating from Catholic hostility to the Church of Ireland. This illustrates further the intention to induce through education the conformity of Catholics to the status quo. This 'status quo' not only involved an Anglican establishment but economic and political rule of Ireland from Westminster. Interdenominational schooling, therefore, may be considered less a hallmark of progressive, secular state policy but rather an instrument of Anglicisation as part of the attempted pacification of Ireland under the Union.

There are certain points to be made which will clarify the significance of the State's project in Ireland for the formation of educational strategies in Britain in the 1830s. The contention here is that the educational policies of the British State in Ireland involved the construction of 'political subjects'. This is intrinsic to 'national' educational processes. In the case of Ireland it was to produce subjects

who supported the Union. An immediate intention and success of the introduction of the National System of Education was to destroy the educational alternatives in Ireland for the Irish peasantry. This was important as it was the 'hedge schools' which had been identified as a crucial agency of revolt against British rule. Secondly, the form of education which was proposed for the 'Irish System', interdenominational schooling, institutionalised 'moral and literary' instruction separately from religion. This departure from a system based on denominational instruction did not represent a jettisoning of the religious basis of education It signalled an appreciation that different strategies were required after the advent of Catholic emancipation in 1829 and brought into being an alliance between the State and the Catholic Church.

The State wanted to orchestrate a cohesive national system of education in Ireland However, close examination of the tenets of the Irish system demonstrate that its message of a common Christianity symbolised by the 'Scipture extracts', which were available for use during the common period of instruction. was structured to reflect Protestantism. Equally important, the use of the 'Scripture extracts' carried no prohibition on teacher comment. Overt proselytisation was out of the question in the new system of education in Ireland, as it would preclude the co-operation of the Catholic Church, but the Irish system was devised so that the 'language and discourse of Protestantism' determined the schooling available in the National schools.

3. CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND PROSELYTISATION IN BRITAIN

Given the scarcity of reference to Catholic schools in general histories of education, it is not surprising that the historians of Catholic education have primarily been involved in an effort to simply record that history. Amongst published sources the student of Catholic education is particularly indebted to the work of Kitching (1969) and Beales (1939, 1962) in this respect. Between them they are the two main authorities on what comprised Catholic schooling until the inception of the Catholic Poor School Committee (CPSC) in 1847. Kitching and Beales have

done much to uncover a 'hidden history'. However, because of their emphasis on recording the Catholic educational effort and the various obstacles which hindered it, both accounts give only a limited understanding of what determined the formation of the CPSC and the policies which it was to pursue from 1847 onwards.

Kitching examines the period 1800-1845:

> Throughout our period their [the Catholic population] educational problem was unique: from 1808 they had to face the competition of the Protestant school societies which received government aid in increasing amounts after 1833, while they themselves were excluded from everything. The first Privy Council minutes, approving government grants for Catholic schools were not resolved until December 1847. (Kitching 1969b: 1)

The implication is that the significance of the Protestant school societies from the Catholic point of view was their possible proselytising intent. Between the foundation of these societies and the inauguration of state aid the Catholic authorities had to meet this threat as best they could.

Gaine (1968) has shown that there have been different phases in the educational policy of the Church. The Church's educational policy has not always been firmly for segregated schools. Gaine sees the real significance of the Protestant school societies as being their use of the monitorial system and its foundation on the use of the Authorised Version of the Bible. The consequence of this was that the Catholic authorities could not countenence the children of the Catholic poor attending such schools. For Gaine it was this that set in motion the processes which ensured that by the second half of the century, when there was active proselytising, segregated schools became the hallmark of Catholic educational policy.

In the early 19th century discussions about the importance and place of the Bible in schooling were the means by which other intentions

concerning elementary education were disclosed and circulated. The monitorial systems of both the National Society (Anglican) and the British and Foreign School Society (Non-Conformist) involved particular policies towards the teaching of Scripture in their respective schools. Members of the National Society as an Anglican body believed that the Authorised Version of the Bible with Anglican notes should be used, while the British and Foreign Society advised the use of the Bible without note or comment. Both these policies conflicted with Catholic practices. In the former case because the version of the Bible used plus the notes would offer an Anglican interpretation of the holy word, and in the latter case because no interpretation at all was offered. Both were examples to Catholics of Protestant calumnies.

The fact that both the Protestant school societies utilised the Bible as the main teaching text reflected contemporay debate about the necessity of religious instruction as the foundation of education for the working class. The use of the Scriptures was, therefore, an integral part of the correct religious education. For many Protestants this was also an essential characteristic which differentiated them from popishness. Such demarcation was all the more necessary for some in the wake of the 1791 Relief Act, and became urgent after Catholic emancipation in 1829.

From the early 19th century attempts were made to win Irish Catholics to Protestantism through the provision of special schools for them. An incident in St Giles, London, an area of rookeries mainly populated by the Irish, illustrates this and serves as an example of incipient proselytisation. In 1813 what were called the 'Irish Catholic Schools' were founded in St Giles. These schools were organised according to the Lancastrian system and no reading book was available 'but the Bible without note or comment' (Gaine 1968). This left the children to attend the place of worship of their choice. Despite the master being an Irish Catholic this policy led to increasing friction with the supporters of the Catholic run St Patrick's Charity Schools in the same area. In 1814 there was a serious riot in Bainbridge Street. The First Annual Report of the Irish Catholic Schools attributes this to the hostility of the local Roman Catholic priests, for which the Committee can find no cause 'except it be

the introduction of the holy scriptures as the school book for reading' (Gaine 1968:54).

As Gaine relates, the Committee of the Irish Catholic Schools would not accept a priest coming in for half a day a week to give religious instruction. The Catholic argument was that such schools compelled children to be brought up in ignorance of their faith because, given their circumstances, the only practicable possibility was for them to be instructed in school and:

> from these schools the Catholic catechism and the Catholic clergyman are equally proscribed. (Gaine 1968:154)

In effect it was asserted that the 'Irish Catholic Schools' of St Giles were inimicable to Catholic interests and as such were to be construed as anti-Catholic. The education offered by the schools could neither be described as secular nor as interdenominational. This episode suggests that the Catholic Church would accept others organising schools for Catholic children as long as the Church was able to provide denominational instruction.

In one major study of the Irish in Britain these events are described as regrettable, in that they delayed even longer a reasonable percentage of Irish Catholics receiving an education. Jackson (1963) comments on the attitude of Catholic priests to Protestant schools and the incident at St Giles in particular:

> The antagonism of the priests in many cases resulted in children being withdrawn from the schools and where no alternative school existed possible preparation for apprenticeship or domestic service might be frustrated. A case is recorded in 1818 of a school in St Giles which so excited the indignation of the priest that he publicly preached against the school from his pulpit with the result that the school was attacked by the Catholics in the

> neighbourhood and one of the children of the master was made a cripple for life. (Jackson 1963: 141)

Thus Jackson's interpretation is that, due to the opposition of the Catholic clergy to attendance at schools run on Protestant principles, the Irish had to wait until sufficient Catholic school places were provided. The role of those who rioted against the 'Irish Catholic Schools' is consigned by Jackson to that of an easily led mob who rioted at the instigation of their priests. No credence is given to any wider or autonomous motives on the part of 'the Catholics in the neighbourhood'. In the absence of direct evidence it could nevertheless be hypothesised that for Irish congregations the defence of Catholic schools was an important matter. The St Giles incident is an early example of the intertwining of Irish and Catholic identities which was to be a significant feature of the Irish experience in Britain.

The events at St Giles, and other similar incidents in other parts of the country (for example, see Burke 1910), were a portent of what was to develop in the complicated relations between the English Catholic Church and its Irish parishioners. Under attack from Protestant forces the Catholic clergy would often successfully mobilise the loyalties and strength of their congregations. Education would come to be the only political issue with which the Catholic bishops were able to counter the influence of Irish nationalism in their working-class parishes. Anti-Catholicism, as has been established, did not solely represent religious opposition. Submission to Protestantism implied a wider cultural and political subjugation. Consequently, attempts by Protestants to educate Irish Catholics in 19th-century Britain cannot be interpreted solely in religious terms.

4. STATE EDUCATION POLICY AND THE EDUCATION OF THE IRISH CATHOLIC WORKING CLASS

4.1 A NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

As outlined in Chapter three the 1830s and 1840s were a critical period for securing capitalist social relations. Education was a crucial aspect of this enterprise. Richards (1980) has written that the main task for the political aristocracy (Whigs and Peelites) between 1832 and 1848 was to forge a society torn by class antagonisms into a nation state. The interests of the bougeoisie had to be 'nationalised'. Faced with this 'national question', liberal opinion agreed that the stabilisation and reproduction of appropriate social relations required the medium of the State as a 'moralising' or educational agency, and not solely as a agency of repression (Richards 1980:66). The 1838-42 period was very turbulent after the collapse of the 1833-36 economic boom, with Chartist demonstrations and the massive unrest which accompanied the economic downswing of the early 1840s and the large increase in unemployment this caused. The strategy of both the Whig and Peelite governments of the period was the revival and expansion of industrial capitalism (Richards 1980, Gash 1965). The railway construction of the mid-1840s was a key aspect of this strategy. There was also agreement that the renewed industrial and urban expansion had to be accompanied by greater 'physical' and 'moral' regulation of the working population.

The measures to stimulate industrial capitalism and the concessions to the working class which characterised the 1840s were, according to Richards, therefore part of a wider strategy to contain class struggle and give cohesion to the economic and social system. As he notes, this strategy was successful because by the 1850-60s the British nation state was able to deflect class struggle at home and challenge other nation states abroad. Richards focuses on the interaction between class struggle and state formation. It is this interaction which, he argues, explains both the specific state forms which developed and the means by which class

opposition was defused in the watershed period prior to 1850. By the late 1830s in Britain conviction in the efficacy of education as a means to contain working class unrest and produce a disciplined workforce had strengthened.

There was more agreement about the efficacy of education as a remedy to the problem of order the working class presented than any other method (see Donajgrodzki 1978, Richards 1980, Corrigan and Corrigan 1979). The repressive response which had greeted working-class unrest in 1819 could not be risked in an era of mass Chartist protest. Social order was essentially seen to be the outcome of a common morality, which would be sustained and expressed by its diffusion throughout the institutions of society. Thus social policy aimed at the preservation of order must include not only legal systems, police forces, prisons but also religion and morality and those factors which supported them, for example, education, socially constructed leisure, housing and public health. Accompanying this conception of social policy was the belief that a strong tutelary grasp should be maintained over the poor who, it was assumed, were normless and liable to be led astray by agitators (Donajgrodzki 1978).

The Whig/Peelite forces which occupied and dominated government throughout most of the 1830s and 1840s developed a consensus concerning the education of the working class. This was broadly that it was necessary to bring as many children into schooling as possible and that a significant degree of state regulation was required, to ensure that the requisite standard of education was being purveyed and that public monies were being well spent. Concern therefore centred on the inability of the voluntary effort to provide sufficient school accommodation. There was also a growing view in some educational circles that the curriculum should include subjects such as 'Political Economy' which would explain the new social order to the working class.

A contradiction existed between the need to form the nation state and capitalism's operation on the basis of classifications and structured differences. Part of the process of orchestrating the favourable conditions for capitalist social relations involved the construction of

state funded and controlled educational arrangements which encompassed all children. Education, more than any other sphere, was concerned with issues of the relationship between religion and the nation state. What will be argued here is that when religious differences served to demarcate class differences, and nationality was the distinctive feature of a particular form of labour power, there was inevitably a 'Roman Catholic problem' in education. On social and political grounds it was expedient, from the perspective of the State, to include Catholics in a national education system. However, anti-Catholicism and anti-Irishness expressed at the level of municipal government would hamper this strategy.

4.2 THE PROBLEM OF EDUCATING IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC CHILDREN

The delineation of the problem concerning the education of the children of Irish migrants is apparent in the 1836 Report on The State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain. The members of the inquiry considered whether the Irish immigrants 'exercised a pernicious influence on the English and Scottish working classes'. They amassed a considerable body of evidence to support this view, including that of Dr Kay (later Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth). An English Roman Catholic priest stated:

> The children of Irish, born in Liverpool, generally go on well; they learn the habits of the English, are more careful and provident than those born in Ireland. They are willing and active. There is a decided amelioration in the English-born Irish; the longer they stay the more they improve. (quoted in Jones 1977:50)

These comments indicated that it was thought that, in the right circumstances, the moral regulation of the Irish was possible and the second generation was where to begin. It is also clear in the 1836 Report that the Commissioners considered that the risk of 'moral contagion' of the English by the Irish was limited in part because the Irish were segregated.

The 1836 Report outlined the advisability of regulating the Irish:

> ... their mode of life is very slowly and very slightly improved unless some civilising influence descends upon them from above, some external moving force independent of their own volition, as of masters, employers, superindents, education. . (quoted in Jones 1977:61)

In particular, the Report noted a considerable improvement in the dress and personal appearance of Irish children after a short attendence in the schools and factories. As Jones (1977) comments, everything seemed to depend on the quality of works management and the availability of schools provision.

Catholic schools were excluded from receiving grants because the 1833 education grant was administered through the National Society and British and Foreign Schools Society (BFSS). A Scottish Roman Catholic bishop argued the case for state aid to Catholic schools:

> There are many Charitable schools in Glasgow, but the teachers all being Protestants always mix up with the elements of education the principles of the Protestant religion. This necessarily excludes Roman Catholic children from attending these schools... An attempt has been made to get schools for the education of these poor people, but that attempt, for want of funds, and the daily increasing poverty of the lower orders, will render it impossible for them to keep up schools for themselves. To improve the feelings, the conduct, the morals, and the loyalty of the Irish Roman Catholic poor in this country, it would be necessary that the Government should, at least extend the same assistance for education as is granted to them in Ireland. (quoted in Jones 1977:62)

In line with much contemporary thinking about the working class, education was posited as the means by which a transformation of the Irish could be achieved. In addition, it was argued to be the means of securing the loyalty of the Irish, a problem that did not arise in the same form with

the other constituent parts of the working class. The loyalty of the Irish could only be won by a process of Anglicisation. This was to be implicit in any educational response to the 'Roman Catholic problem' in education.

The inadequate provision of Roman Catholic schools in the 1830s was recognised as an extreme example of the growing inadequacy of the voluntary effort to provide sufficient school accommodation. The Treasury, whose task it was to administer the 1833 education grant, was well aware of the specific problems concerning the education of Catholics. To obtain funds under the grant conditions it was necessary to be recommended by either the National Society or the BFSS. All non-Anglican applications were referred to the latter. This happened when an application was received from two Catholic priests in Sheffield. The BFSS would not recommend the application on the ground that the school would not be conducted upon non-denominational lines. Schools under the aegis of the BFSS claimed to be non-denominational. However, their instruction on religious teaching was that the Bible was to be read without note or comment. This seemingly even-handed approach was one that effectively excluded all Catholics, to whom it represented a denominational practice.

Paz (1980) charts the communications between the Treasury and the BFSS on this matter and other Catholic applications for grant aid. Paz is of the opinion that this correspondence demonstrates an awareness on the part of the government of the problem of Catholic schools and a willingness, if the circumstances were auspicious, to fund them. In particular Paz argues that this is supported by the fact that the key person was Spring-Rice, who had chaired the 1828 Select Committee to consider proposals for education in Ireland. Spring-Rice epitomised the Whig attitude to Roman Catholics, which was that they were tolerated rather than accepted. When the Sheffield school put in a second request for aid in August 1835 the Treasury acted favourably, but Spring-Rice discovered that the school was solely for Roman Catholics and that the building bore the inscription 'RC school'. Spring-Rice had assumed that the school, although intended primarily for children of that faith:

> would not exclude or give offence to Protestants... The safest course would be to adopt our Irish plan which approved as it has been by Archbishop Murray cannot be by possibility objected to by any Roman Catholics. (Paz 1980: 28)

Spring-Rice insisted that the 'obnoxious inscription' be removed. Apparently the problem was solved, for Dunn, the secretary of the BFSS, certified later that year that the school was to be a British school and the Treasury awarded the school a grant on 18 September 1836.

When the terms of the 1833 education grant were agreed the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 was fully reflected in the terms of the education initiative. The Test and Corporation Acts had enforced various penalties on the full participation of Nonconformists in public life. They had fallen into widespread disuse, their repeal nevertheless was an important landmark. Thus in the Minute of 30 August 1833, which governed the administration of the education grant, the BFSS was recognised as a channel for state aid as was the National Society, the educational society of the Church of England. There was no similar recognition for Roman Catholics following Catholic emancipation in 1829. This is further indicative evidence that Emancipation represented recognition of the rights of Catholics rather than their acceptance. Paz is opposed to the notion that the 1833 grant was just a response of the State to working-class clamour for educational provision. He argues that the aim of people such as Russell and Spring-Rice was to defeat radical proposals for education by vindicating the Treasury system. At the same time they needed to weaken the National Society's claim to a large part of the State's largesse. In 1833 it was possible to include Nonconformists in the arrangements for education grants but not Roman Catholics, although as the evidence presented here suggests, the government was well aware of the 'Roman Catholic problem' in education.

This section has sought to demonstrate that education was central to the long-term objectives of the State towards the working class. Within that context the children of Irish Catholic migrants presented a particular

problem because of their poverty and the lack of provision of Catholic school places. In the 1830s the arguments advanced for resources to expand Catholic school places were based on the benefits which would accrue by improving the habits and loyalty of the Irish population. On this issue the Catholic Church and central government had few differences.

5. THE CORPORATION SCHOOLS EXPERIMENT IN LIVERPOOL

The objective in this section is to demonstrate that the educational policies of both the British State and the English Catholic Church towards the children of Irish migrants were conditioned by anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish hostility, which governed local and national politics. The debate about interdenominational and denominational education in the 1830s and 1840s will be examined to illustrate the impact of anti-Catholic/Irish hostility on educational developments. Interdenominational teaching was associated with the extension of the secular content of the curriculum. In the first half of the 19th century secular education did not mean a curriculum devoid of religious content but a curriculum that included secular subjects and segregated them from religious instruction. Secular education was, therefore, distinct from the monitorial system, in which the aim was the transmission of certain skills in order that working-class children could acquire denominational teaching. For the monitorial system the Bible (with the addition of a catechism in Anglican schools) was considered a sufficient text. The issues most pertinent to this investigation are revealed in reactions to an attempt to introduce the 'Irish System', synonomous with interdenominational schooling, into publicly funded schools in Liverpool. This attempt became known as the 'Corporation Schools Experiment'.

The 'Irish System' was to have a considerable impact on educational thinking in Britain during the 1830s and was cited favourably or unfavourably in many of the education debates of the decade. Stanley, and many others who supported denominational education and opposed the introduction of the 'Irish System' to the rest of the United Kingdom, did not see any corollary in Britain with conditions in Ireland. In all the

criticisms of the 'Irish System' which these groupings produced in the 1830s, the crux of the issue was not that the system was inapproriate for Ireland but its complete unsuitability for application in Britain. The implicit acknowledgement was that Ireland demanded extraordinary measures and all could concur in what was necessary to re-establish order across the Irish sea. The danger was that the Irish system be introduced to Britain by the advocates of a national education system. The denominationalists were aware that any national system which aimed to include all children, and in the wake of the reforms of 1829 that would be inevitable, would advocate interdenominational schooling and what was termed a 'secular' curriculum.

Despite Stanley's reassurance of the 'Irish System' being the 'most Protestant' system possible in the circumstances, the introduction of the 'Irish System' to the rest of the United Kingdom was quite unacceptable to those who supported denominational education, especially the Anglicans. Interdenominational education thus came to be portrayed by its opponents as synonymous with the encroachment of popery and rebels It was not only the menace of Catholicism that was seen as threatening but contamination by an 'Irish' system. These were powerful weapons in the armoury of the denominationalists The reason for the accelerating campaign in the 1830s by the advocates of denominational schools was their fears that the State, in the shape of various Whig administrations, was contemplating the establishment of a national system of schools in Britain. This fear of the denominationalists was reinforced by the calls of many prominent educational campaigners for a national education system, explicitly stating that the aim was to bring all children within the ambit of State education. This would necessarily entail an interdenominational system.

An examination of the issues raised by the Corporation Schools Experiment in Liverpool will reveal many of the relevant themes. Murphy (1959) has provided the only detailed historical study of the Corporation schools in Liverpool and this account is heavily indebted to his work. Two Corporation schools were established in Liverpool in 1827. The schools were intended for the poor of the city and were financed by the city council. The schools were organised according to the principles of the

National Society. The pupils were taught the Church catechism, used the Authorised Version of the Bible and were obliged to attend on Sundays a place of worship connected with the established Church. As a consequence of these arrangements few Dissenters and only two or three Roman Catholic children attended the Corporation schools.

In the changing times of the 1830s in Liverpool it became an issue that there were children being supported out of public funds who were being schooled in one faith. Further, the view was gaining ground that there was a need for far more schools for poor children. In particular the circumstances of Roman Catholic children caused concern. Roman Catholics were estimated as forming a quarter of the population of Liverpool at this time, most of them Irish migrants and their families. Some of the middle-class Catholics, many of whom were Irish merchants (Lawton 1959), were.

> begining to feel that they might well expect to receive financial support for their schools from the Corporations funds. (Murphy 1959: 10)

This public expression was a new departure: the Catholic population of Liverpool had always been marked by a low public profile because they were 'afraid of the great forces arrayed against them' and feared 'provoking active Protestant hostility' (Burke 1910).

Prior to 1835 and the passage of the Municipal Corporations Act, Liverpool was ruled by a self-elected council, all of whom belonged to the Church of England, and all but five of whom were Conservatives. After the municipal elections in 1835 there were 43 Liberals on the new Town Council and only five Conservatives (Murphy 1959). The new council viewed education as one of its chief concerns and early in its life the new education committee decided it would take as its model the system of education established in Ireland four years before. The education committee perceived their main problem to be making the Corporation schools effectively available to children of all denominations. Liverpool Town Council were tackling a problem which was exposed wherever there was a large proportion of Roman Catholic children, that is, the inadequacy of the

1833 education grant arrangements for ensuring that the children viewed as most in need of education went to school. The first report of the committee to the council proposed that the committee's task should be to:

> enquire into what plans have been found most effectual for the Physical Intellectual Moral and Religious Improvement of the pupils in similar schools, particullarly those adopted by the Irish Education Board; and cautiously to make trial of whatever shall appear most desirable, taking care to avoid anything sectarian or exclusive in the regulations or in the Religious instructions imparted in order that the Schools may be open to and sought by all. (Proceedings of the Liverpool education committee, Vol 1, p 6-7, quoted in Murphy 1959: 22)

Despite criticisms already circulating about the Irish system there was very little opposition expressed in the council against the education committee, going ahead with this plan, and it defeated a counter proposal that the schools stay in the hands of the established Church. The system of education instituted in Ireland in 1831 by a Whig administration had just received the approval of a Conservative government. This may have helped produce a climate of opinion favourable for the introduction of the 'Irish System' into the Liverpool schools.

In their attempts to devise a system which would be amenable to all denominations the education committee made substantial attempts to accommodate the views of the established Church. The view of the Junior Rector of the Church of England in Liverpool, Reverend A Campbell, was that there be an opportunity for denominational instruction on each school day. This was in contrast to the 'Irish System', where one day out of five was given to denominational instruction. Murphy describes in detail how the education committee sought to accommodate these wishes but caused unnecesary misunderstandings by describing the hour in which this denominational instruction would take place as being at the end of the day, implying that it would be after the school had closed. The appropriate regulation was amended six months later to make it clear that the school

day did not in fact end until the denominational religious instruction had been given. Murphy's view is that by that time 'a good deal of opposition had been unnecesarily aroused' (Murphy 1959: 48).

In fact, from early in the life of the new proposals for the Corporation schools, opposition was widespread amongst the Anglican clergy. This opposition was fanned by the writings and speeches of Reverend Hugh M'Neile of the Protestant Association against the introduction of 'Irish System of Education' into the Corporation schools. M'Neile's opposition centred on describing the system as 'Popish', largely on the supposition that the education committee intended 'to take away the Bible from the schools', that is, the Bible would not be available to all children because Roman Catholic children were to be allowed to use the Douay version. M'Neile also described the 'Irish Scripture Lessons' as perverting Protestant teaching. These early criticisms were amplified and circulated by the local and national press. The Liverpool Standard in 1836 accused the council of wanting to 'O'Connellise and Socinianize the children of the poor'. The Liverpool Courier feared that the education committee's recommendations were the fruits of 'a deep-laid scheme for up-rooting the principles of the Reformation' and were part of 'a Popish plot'. (Murphy 1959: 62)

When the new regime came into operation in the Corporation schools the Anglican teachers refused to go on teaching in them and their pupils followed them to other schools. Immediately many Roman Catholic children poured into the schools. This mass exodus of the Anglican pupils accurately reflects that the heart of the Anglican/Tory opposition to the introduction of the 'Irish System' was a fear of contamination. In the public dispute over the Corporation schools there was little argument in Liverpool about the right of Roman Catholics to education. As Murphy points out:

> In the course of the parliamentary debates which followed the adoption of the 'Irish System' in Ireland it had been stated by some Conservative critics of 'the system' that they would raise no objection if Roman Catholics and

> Protestants were to receive financial assistance from the government to enable them to build their own separate schools... in Liverpool it would probably not have been difficult to have persuaded such men as the Junior Rector and some of the Conservative members of the Council to accept such a policy as this, which would have circumvented most of the difficulties caused by the proposal to educate children of all denominations in the *same* schools. (Murphy 1959. 79)

Reverend H M'Neile, in an open letter to the council, stated the position clearly.

> ... Had you retained the former schools exclusively Protestant for the Protestant population, and established additional schools exclusively Roman Catholic for the Roman Catholic population, this would have been, on your own principles, impartial. And, however we might have mourned over your indiscriminate patronage of truth and error, we would not have practically interfered. (Murphy 1959. 80)

The opposing position advocated by most of the Liberal members of the Town Council was put by Thomas Blackburn:

> Wherever there was a mixed population of Protestants and Roman Catholics, he contended that it was highly advisable that this system should be introduced without loss of time in every part of the empire, and he trusted that the future historian would have to say that the Town Council of Liverpool had the honour of introducing this system of education into England and that it rapidly spread throughout the empire. (Murphy 1959: 89)

Such statements fuelled the efforts of the opponents of the introduction of the 'Irish System' into greater efforts because they suspected that the leaders of the Liberal Party in Liverpool were hoping to

demonstrate in their two Corporation schools that the 'Religious Problem' need no longer present an obstacle to the setting-up in England of a national system of elementary education. The Liverpool press issued warnings of these suspicions:

> We beg to remind protestants in other parts of England that this town has been first selected by the agents of the government, and by the advisers of the popish rebels of Ireland, to try the experiment of undermining religious belief in the young, the fatherless, and the unprotected, by means of an unchristian education, the most execrable merit of which is, that it excludes the Bible from the schools. (Murphy 1959: 91)

In the General Election of 1837 the sitting Liberal Member of Parliament for Liverpool was defeated and two Conservatives returned for the two-member constituency. It was a bitter campaign in which the Tories used the controversy over the Corporation schools to their advantage. The Irish Catholic population of Liverpool were very visible amongst their opponents. The Liverpool Courier reported that the inflammatory placards of their opponents were calculated to 'call together a mob of the most ruffianly desperadoes in Christendom' and described some Conservatives as being attacked by 'the rankest scum of Irish Popery, being non-electors' (Liverpool Courier, 26 July 1837 quoted in Murphy 1959).

William Rathbone, chair of the education committee, saw this support of the Liberals' education policy as detrimental:

> To our friends the Roman Catholics, and to Irishmen, I would say one word;- I have fought for them, but I do say that some of the tumults which have occurred at this election have done much to take several votes from us. (Murphy 1959: 97)

The active opposition to the Corporation Schools Experiment was not confined to the Conservative Party. The Church of England clergy in

Liverpool daily became more bitter and consequently, as Murphy points out, it was unlikely that the many educationalists who visited the schools could conclude at this point that the experiment had been a success. However, owing to the importance of education as a political issue in the period, many visitors were received in the schools. It is clear that the Liverpool experiment was known of throughout the country and was closely associated with the developing notions of 'national education'. Murphy describes Thomas Wyse and James Simpson, at the commencement of a famous 'education tour', visiting Liverpool. However, during the rest of their tour Wyse, in seeking to illustrate that it was possible to have children of different denominations taught within the same comprehensive system of education, avoided mentioning the Corporation Schools Experiment.

It is significant that when the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education was founded in 1837 it did not mention the 'Irish System'. Instead 'the practice of the British and Foreign Schools Society of prescribing Bible classes for every school and placing the entire volume of the Holy Scripture, without note or comment, in the hands of every child (excepting from this rule only Catholics and Jews)' was declared as being the best system so far devised for meeting the difficulties arising from the varieties of religious sects in this country (Murphy 1959: 112). The Prime Minister of the day, Lord John Russell, was a supporter of the British and Foreign School Society, and many of the Liberals who most supported a national system would have liked to have extended the practices of the BFSS. However, for the Anglicans this was not satisfactory because there was no commentary given to the Bible and it did not include the use of their catechism, while Roman Catholics, in general, refused to send their children to these schools because they used only the Authorised Version of the Bible.

Murphy comments:

> Even if the government had tried to make easier the task of arriving at some agreement by consenting to exclude the Roman Catholics from some projected State system of education, it appeared doubtful whether very much would in

> fact have been gained. It was true that many would have wished to see the Roman Catholics so excluded. (Murphy 1959: 148)

At the time a number of motions concerning the education of Roman Catholic children were put to the Select Committee on Education of the Poorer Classes in England and Wales. The motions proposed that wherever there was a large number of Roman Catholics and they were unwilling to attend either National Society or BFSS schools then they should be in receipt of governmental assistance, this aid to be awarded on satisfactory proof that the Holy Scriptures (in any version) were being used in Catholic schools. All the motions were defeated. This indicates that there was considerable opposition to any public funding of Catholic schools. In Liverpool the Protestant Association, in contrast, had reluctantly conceded that the public funding of separate Catholic schools was appropriate, as their main aim, faced with the Corporation Schools Experiment was to prevent Catholics being educated with other working-class children.

Murphy attributes the eventual demise of the Corporation Schools Experiment to the ceaseless campaign against it waged by the Protestant Association. In the late 1830s many 'Operative Protestant Associations' were formed which engaged working-class support for the association's campaigns. This happened at a time when anti-Catholic campaigns were gathering strength in the national and local press and the Conservative Party was doing much to encourage these sentiments. For example, the Liverpool Standard commented that if the 'Papists' were ever again allowed to parade through the town on St Patrick's Day:

> ... all we can say is that the public authorities of the town are willing to be considered as conniving at treason and that the Protestant inhabitants of the town have consented to place their necks under the yoke of Popish tyranny. (Murphy 1959: 222)

It is quite clear that the treasonous 'Papists' referred to were Irish and known to be such. St Patrick's Day is an Irish national celebration, not a

Catholic festival. Many attempts were, in fact, made by the clergy in Liverpool to stop St Patrick's Day parades for that very reason (Burke 1910).

In the municipal elections of 1841 the Conservatives regained control of Liverpool council and were to retain control for the next half century. The education committee made new proposals for the Corporation schools which entailed returning them as far as possible to their original state prior to the 1835 Liberal victory. All children were to be instructed in the doctrines of the Church of England, although absence on conscientious grounds would be allowed, and all children were to be required to read the Authorised Version of the Bible and join in common prayer at the begining and end of the day. The Catholic clergy in the city issued a statement against the new regime, and all 936 Roman Catholic children were withdrawn when the new regulations came into force. The effective segregation of the education of working-class children in a town with a significant proportion of Roman Catholic citizens had, therefore, been achieved.

This marked the end of an experiment which had intended that all working-class children be schooled together. The policy that the Liberals had pursued in Liverpool had been watched as a possible blueprint for introducing interdenominational and 'secular' education in the rest of the country. The petition of the Liverpool Town Council to the House of Commons in 1839 demonstrated the incorporatist tendencies of all such educational plans (Murphy 1959. 199). Despite their predominantly Protestant ethos, the Catholic Church had shown itself willing to participate in the schools as long as overt proselytisation was absent, not even insisting that the teachers be Roman Catholic. This approach to the education of Catholic children was supported by the future Cardinal Wiseman. From the demise of the Corporation Schools Experiment, however, the Catholic Church became convinced that the possibilities of interdenominational education were remote.

The Corporation Schools Experiment was an attempt by a newly elected Whig administration to implement at municipal level an education scheme which might have served as a model for a national system of education. In

Liverpool the education experiment was based on the 'Irish System', which had been devised to deal with the 'problem' of educating Irish Roman Catholics. Events in Liverpool demonstrated that a similar solution could not be achieved for the problem of educating Irish Catholics in Britain. The forces of anti-Catholicism and the fears of educating Irish Catholics with other working-class children produced a demand for separate schools for Roman Catholics. Thus the impetus for differentiation and segregation of the working class was manifest at the level of municipal government and at odds with the central government policy of developing a national system of education which included all children.

6. THE EXTENSION OF STATE GRANT AID TO ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

The lessons learned from the failure of the Corporation Schools Experiment by the Catholic Church were reinforced by the fate of two government attempts to develop educational provision beyond the confines of the voluntary societies. In 1839 Lord John Russell put proposals to Parliament which involved the creation of a Committee of Council to manage the disbursement of parliamentary grant-in-aid, to appoint inspectors and to establish a national teacher training college (Normal or Model School) on non-denominational principles In the event, the last proposal was dropped in the face of vehement opposition and the inspectorate had to be denominationally staffed. However, the Committee of Council was established and became the means of a steady administrative advance in the provision of elementary education (Alexander 1977).

There has been much debate amongst historians of education as to whether the 'Irish System' or the policies of the British and Foreign Schools Society were the determinant influence in shaping these proposals of Russell. What is of particular interest here is that the uproar which ensued, ensuring the abandonment of the Normal School proposal, was largely debated by the Anglican and Tory opposition in terms suggesting that the proposals represented the introduction of the 'Irish System' to Britain. Central to the opposition forces were the High Anglicans of the Oxford Movement. The position of the Oxford Movement within the Church of England

was that any attempt to separate religious and secular purposes in elementary education was to be treated as an intimation of the separation of Church and State. This defence became essential Tory policy (Alexander 1977, Murphy 1959). The standard Anglican tactic was to lump the government, secularists and Dissenters together as an apostate league.

The main Tory attack was aimed at the religious arrangements of the Model School as the harbinger of an anti-denominational system. On 30 April 1839 The Times identified the arrangements as a 'desparate attempt' to introduce the 'Irish System'. On 2 May the Bishop of London, Charles James Blomfield, opened the campaign in the Lords by repeating the 'Irish System' charge and expressing fear of an intent to make all schools multidenominational (Alexander 1977). The Whig administration was forced to back down on the proposal for a Normal School. But in establishing a Committee of Council (the Education Committee of the Privy Council) the government brought into being a structure which would ensure that uniformity in secular educational provision could be achieved by stealth. Uniformity would be brought about through the system of inspection and the control of textbooks, while divisions were maintained by religious education.

The impossibility of achieving any institutional framework wherein children of different religions could be schooled together was reinforced by the opposition which greeted the educational clauses of Sir James Graham's Factory Bill of 1843. Factory children were to attend school for at least three hours daily on five days each week. The most controversial point was the type of religious teaching to be provided. Graham, himself a convinced but tolerant Anglican, tried to disarm potential opponents by instructing teachers to use only the Bible in religious instruction classes. Nevertheless, on Sundays and major holy days the Anglican priest might give doctrinal instruction based on the catechism and the Book of Common Prayer, and he could order the schoolmaster to follow his lead in Sunday lessons. Parents could, however, refuse to send their children to any religious sessions (Ward and Treble 1969).

Graham had hoped to find some means to build something approximating to a scheme of national education, paying due regard to the wishes of the established Church and the scruples of Dissenters. However, the opposition of the Dissenters was to be all-embracing and comprehensive. For the first time the Wesleyan Methodists aligned thenselves with the general body of dissent. The Methodists had supported the Church of England in 1839, but three years later were motivated by 'a deep and conscientious fear of Popery in the Church of England' to oppose the new proposals (Ward and Treble 1969:84). As Ward and Treble (1969) point out, the twin themes of opposition to the Church (and particullarly to its new 'Oxford' wing) and of hostility to state intervention in education dominated the agitation against the bill. Highly charged warnings of the disease of Puseyism, the menace of 'popish' theology and the danger of contamination of children provided the emotional 'punch-lines' of scores of Protestant speeches and tracts.

Gash (1965) describes the educational debates in 1839 and 1843 as a turning point. The debate in 1839.

> ... was fundamental because it raised the question whether education should become secular or remain a province of religion. Yet the limits of the Anglican revival were reached only 4 years later with the abandonment of Graham's Factory Education Bill. This was the second great crisis, because it raised the question whether national education was to be a monopoly of the Established church or shared with others. (Gash 1965:109)

In other words, the repeal of the Test and Corporations Act and Catholic emancipation had changed society irrevocably. The anti-popery of the Anglicans in the late 1830s, and again at the time of the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy in 1850, was a measure of the Church of England's crisis as a national church; while the anti-popery of many Dissenters in the 1840s and after was a measure of their opposition to the privileged position of the Church of England, and also their own inability to do more than restrain part of the Church of England's plans. Education

particularly was the issue through which all these dilemmas were expressed.

The consequence of the events of the period 1839-1843 was that state aid for education would continue to voluntary societies, and the issue became whether to extend this aid to groups not already in receipt of grants. The Wesleyan Methodists, despite their support for voluntarism, decided to accept grant aid in 1846 as long as it did not preclude them from objecting to the grants being extended to Roman Catholics. This was agreed to at the time by the Committee of Council, but only a year later the government, now a Whig administration, suggested in Parliament that state grants be made to Catholic schools on the same basis as other voluntary societies. The Catholic Poor School Committee was set up in 1847 for the purpose of receiving this grant aid.

The catalyst for the government's decision to advocate extending grant aid to Catholic schools was a massive increase in Irish immigration, a consequence of the famine in Ireland between 1845-1847 (Cruickshank 1963). This movement of population was attracting considerable attention in the press and in Parliament. Hundreds of thousands of Irish migrants arrived, principally at the port of Liverpool, between 1846-1849. As in Ireland the Whigs were ready to extend state funding to the Catholic Church in order to educate Irish Catholics. Kay-Shuttleworth's brother, James Kay, expressed the view that only Catholicism could influence the most destitute parts of the population:

> What I mean is, that none but the lowest forms of Protestantism will ever effect an ignorant multitude; but that Catholicism is particularly designed for such a multitude; and what I do wish is, that if we may not have an educational system, whereby to fit our people for the reception of Protestantism, that we might again have Roman Catholicism for the people; believing as I do, that it is infinitely better that the people should be superstitiously religious, than that they should be, as at present, ignorant, sensual, and revolutionary infidels. (quoted in

the First Report of the Catholic Poor School Committee 1848.55)

In the context of rising immigration from Ireland, continuing activity against the Union in Ireland and of renewed Chartist agitation in Britain, the Catholic Church seemed the only agency able to restrain and incorporate the Irish Catholic section of the working class.

The initial application of the Roman Catholic authorities for state aid in 1846 had been refused by the Whigs, on the grounds that the regulations of the Committee of Council required the reading of the Authorised Version of the Bible in schools and they had no wish to provoke controversy just before a general election. The immediate background to this decision was the storm of outrage occasioned when the then Tory (Peelite) administration had proposed an increase in the state's funding to Maynooth College, a Catholic Seminary near Dublin. There was widespread mobilisation against this measure, led by the Protestant Association. This was followed by considerable opposition to the extension of grant aid to Roman Catholic schools in 1847. In support of the proposal 'reasons of state' were advanced by the Whig government and supported by the Peelites from the opposition. Peel argued, in a speech in Parliament, that to leave children of Roman Catholic poor 'immersed in ignorance' would harm 'the Protestant community' (Murphy 1971.36).

The Catholic Poor School Committee, however, appeared ready to forgo grant aid rather than yield on certain principles. They successfully argued that the inspector appointed to their schools by the Committee of Council must be a Roman Catholic. In addition, they refused to depart from their contention that only the clergy could decide what fell within the sphere of religion and, therefore, within their sole jurisdiction, other matters being the sphere of the 'secular' inspector. The Committee of Council eventually gave way and conceded that the only appeal on such disputed points must be to a bishop. However, although the Catholic Poor School Committee was opposed to the principle of lay management, they in their turn had to accept lay members of the management committee of each school (Murphy 1971:37). Thus in 1847 Roman Catholics became the last

religious denomination to be in receipt of grant aid for the provision of schools for the children of the Irish working class in Britain.

A separate Catholic elementary schools system did not develop, primarily because of the sectarian tendencies and ghetto mentality of the Catholic Church and Irish Catholics in Britain. The evidence presented here suggests that the hierarchy, including Cardinal Wiseman, in the first half of the 19th century would have accepted interdenominational schools as long as the Church retained full control of the religious instruction of Catholic children. All through the period under discussion, 1833-1847, the Catholic Church did insist on the use of the Douay version of the Bible and on no common prayer, except for infants. However, they were happy to accept the composite Scripture extracts prepared as part of the 'Irish System' as a basis for common instruction. Separate Catholic schools became inevitable because of the refusal of Anglicans to countenance mixed schools in which anything less than the Authorised Version of the Bible was used as the medium of instruction. Scripture extracts were seen by the Anglicans and others as representing the incursion of popery. However, by the late 1840s, many Protestants were prepared for the existence of Catholic schools funded from the public purse, rather than be joined in a system of interdenominational education.

In the changed political circumstances of the 1830s and 1840s the State, in the form of various Whig and Peelite administrations, wanted a national system of education to include all working-class children. The priority was education for all, but by the mid-1840s the State had to accept that publicly financed denominational education was the only means of achieving this at the time. The furore over the 1839 educational proposals of Lord John Russell ensured that the privileged position of the Anglican Church in relation to the State had to be acknowledged, and there was never any serious threat of disestablishment. Equally, the State could not favour the Church of England too much, as the uproar caused by the educational clauses of the 1843 factory legislation proved. The impossibility of achieving an interdenominational system which included Catholics had been demonstrated by the failure of the Corporation Schools Experiment in Liverpool and the widespread hostility of Anglicans and the

Conservative Party to the idea of introducing the 'Irish System' into Britain. In the end, the State successfully introduced grant aid for Catholic schools in 1847 against still significant opposition by stressing the dire educational need, and the consequences if neglected, of the poorest and most alien section of the population.

7. CONCLUSION

The 'problem' of the education of the Irish Catholic working class for the State revolved around two issues First, the relative poverty of the Catholic population, even when compared with the rest of the working class, meant that voluntary efforts alone were unlikely to provide sufficient school accommodation. Second, it emerged in the 1830s and 1840s that any attempt to introduce interdenominational education as a means of drawing all children into a national system were doomed to failure, principally because of the opposition to educating Irish Catholic children with other children. This opposition did not primarily stem from the Catholic authorities. They showed, during the 1830s, that they were willing to collaborate with proposals for interdenominational education when faced with large numbers of Irish children, as long as denominational instruction was safeguarded as their province. The objections to the children of Irish Catholic migrants being schooled with other working-class children came from the other denominations, especially the Church of England, and from certain political forces, in particular the Conservative Party. Their objections centred on the fear of 'contamination' from the Irish Catholic working class. These fears were articulated by the Protestant Association and by the local and national press through the discourse of anti-Catholicism.

Education was the crucial national arena in which the issue of the relationship between the nation state and religion was aired. Education was also the means by which the long-term regulation and transformation of the working class was to be achieved. The Whig/Peelite political ascendency which dominated government throughout the 1830s and 1840 wished to draw all working-class children into a national system of education, in

order to produce the appropriate work force and political subjects of the future. What emerged by the middle of the 19th century, as a result of sustained opposition to the idea of interdenominational education as the basis of a national system, was an education system which segregated and differentiated sections of the working class. However, in establishing the Committee of Council for education, the government ensured that the schooling all working-class children received, other than religious instruction, followed identical principles.

Both the significance of large numbers of Irish working-class Catholics in many large cities and the 'Roman Catholic' problem in education they gave rise to, and the importance of the role of anti-Catholicism in determining the development of the education system, have been underestimated in many previous histories. The resulting compromise was one which, while segregating Irish Catholics from the rest of the working class, also provided the conditions for the incorporation of the children of Irish migrants From the State's point of view, religious instruction could be safely omitted from the jurisdiction of the Committee of Council's inspectors, because all religious authorities in Britain could be relied upon to relay similar messages of respect for authority and private property and acceptance of the rigours of industrial life This included the English Catholic Church which, despite the furore at the time of the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850, was increasingly seen to be the only agency whose authority was recognised by the Irish working class.

The legendary disregard of the Irish for British authority structures contrasted strikingly with their willingness, in many circumstances, to follow the instructions of the Church when the issue concerned the education of their children. Thus to the English Catholic Church fell the prime task of the incorporation of the children of their Irish congregation. The aim of the National Education System in Ireland was to produce support for the Union. In Britain the aim in educating Irish working-class children was incorporation. This process will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

CATHOLIC EDUCATION : THE INCORPORATION OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

1. INTRODUCTION

The central hypothesis of this thesis is that a major aim of Catholic education was to incorporate the children of working-class Irish migrants. The particular focus of incorporation was the identity of Irish pupils in Catholic schools. The intention in this chapter is to explore how this policy developed and was put into practice. The aim is also to establish the ways in which the incorporatist policy of Catholic elementary education was determined by the wider context of government strategies and anti-Catholic/Irish hostility.

In Catholic histories of education there is a clear acknowledgement that an extensive Catholic state education system would not have developed but for the migration of the Irish to Britain. Selby (1974) writing about the Catholic reaction to the 1870 Education Act comments that:

> ... it is always important to remember that without the Irish there would have been no Catholic elementary-school, problem in the second half of the century. (Selby 1974:119)

The 'problem' Selby is referring to is that of the need to provide sufficient Catholic school accommodation at the time of the introduction of Board schools in 1870. Apart from a few areas in northern England, for example, Preston, and certain parts of Scotland, the pressing need to build more Catholic elementary schools was a response to the presence of Irish Catholics and their offspring in Britain.

The small number of histories of Catholic education which exist chart the struggle both to establish and control Catholic schools. Relatively little attention, however, is given to the pupils the schools were teaching or to what it was they were being taught. The emphasis is on the obstacles the Church faced in the course of the construction of its school system. The main obstacles described are the poverty of the Catholic population and the need to defend denominational schooling. The implications of the fact that Catholic elementary schools were full of Irish Catholics is not explored in great detail in these histories. For example, Beales (1946), in one of his many essays on Catholic education, mentions in passing that the Irish famines of the 1840's added to the ranks of the 'uneducated Catholic poor'. This obscures the reality that most of the 'Catholic poor' already in the country were Irish or of Irish descent.

Evennett (1944), in the course of reviewing over a century of progress in Catholic education, pointed out that:

> Organised Catholic school policy has inevitably been dictated by the social composition of the Catholic community. A large Catholic working class, much of it Irish in origin, has grown up in the big industrial and commercial centres and forms the largest element in the total Catholic population. (Evennett 1944: 9)

Evennett recognises that the social composition of the Catholic population has been a prime influence on Catholic schooling. However, his reference to the Irish (it is quoted above in its entirety) is as brief as any other amongst the published histories of Catholic education. Catholic elementary schools which served 'the largest element in the total Catholic population' are covered hurriedly in Evennett's study, which devotes most of its text to Catholic grammar and public schools. This reflects a general tendency to view the public and grammar schools which served the English Catholic aristocracy and growing middle class as the pinnacle of Catholic educational achievement. Consequently there are a greater number of studies of these schools than of Catholic elementary schools.

Kitching (1969) states clearly the view that seems to underlie the assumptions of all historians of Catholic education about the relationship between Irish migrants and Catholic education:

> Irish-born meant Catholic born and succeeding generations would hold on to their faith, provided they could be reached by priests, provided there were chapels, and provided there were schools. That was the position confronting the Vicars Apostolic. (Kitching 1969a:2)

The Irish by this account presented a logistic problem. As long as sufficient priests, churches and schools could be provided the imputation is that the Irish would provide reliable 'parish fodder'. The conclusion which Kitching draws, and which is shared by others, is that the growing number of Irish Catholics presented particular organisational and financial problems for the Church and necessitated a policy devoted to acquiring government aid for Catholic elementary schools. The argument of this thesis is that, although the logistic problem of schooling the Irish was important, other significant factors motivated the massive effort to build Catholic schools in the 19th century. In particular, the building of a Catholic school system was both a means of incorporating the children of Irish migrants and of resisting proselytisation and anti-Catholicism.

The first section of the chapter explores the specific aims of the Catholic authorities concerning the education of the children of Irish migrants. Secondly, the expansion of the Catholic elementary school system is examined to discover how important the building of schools was for the incorporation of Irish Catholics. Next the curriculum, religious and secular, of the elementary schools is considered, to estimate the role of the curriculum in the denationalising objectives of Catholic schools. In the fifth section of the chapter the basis of the continuing segregation of Catholic schools within the state-aided sector of education is described, as is the impact this had on the experience of the Irish in Britain. Finally, the relationship between Catholic education and Irish identity in the 19th century is reviewed, to clarify the hypotheses which inform the empirical study of Catholic schools in the 20th century.

2. THE AIMS OF CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

In chapter four the gulf that existed between English and Irish Catholics was described. This gulf was based on differences in national identity and social class background. In these circumstances it fell to an expanding Ultramontane clergy to develop a mission to the Irish congregation in Britain and to establish the unity of the Church. The mission to the Irish necessitated a number of strategies, including the use of Irish symbols and saints' names for churches and confraternities. The aim of the Church was to transform the Irish in Britain by strengthening their identity as Catholics at the expense of their Irishness. In particular, it was the political expression of this Irishness which was discouraged.

An important focus of the strategies of the Catholic Church were the children of Irish migrants. The Church authorities were concerned that they did not drift from the faith, and also saw the opportunity which education offered for transforming this section of the working class. Religious, social class and national motivations were intertwined in Catholic educational policies. In this section the intention is to examine Catholic educational policy towards elementary schools after the granting of government aid in 1847. As already described, the Catholic Poor School Committee (CPSC) was established in order to receive government grant-in-aid. Two aspects of the committee are of particular interest here: first, the remarkable degree of congruence which existed between the educational objectives of the CPSC, the bishops and central government; second, the ways in which the CPSC articulated in educational terms the objectives of the mission to the Irish in Britain.

When the Vicars Apostolic created the CPSC in 1847 their intention was not only to provide the organisational framework for the transfer of government monies to schools, but, to ensure the existence of a body under their supervsion to deal with educational questions (Norman 1985: 168). The organisation most concerned with education prior to this was the Catholic Institute, a group of laymen organised by Charles Langdale, Member of Parliament for Knaresborough. In the midst of the pressure for the rights

of Catholics to government aid in 1846-7, Frederick Lucas, the editor of The Tablet, set up the Association of St Thomas of Canterbury for the vindication of Catholic Rights' (Norman 1985:167). More democratic in style than the Institute, and in no way dependent on the aristocracy, the association had a greater appeal to the Catholic middle class. The Association urged political action, that candidates at election should be asked to support Catholic education claims. The success of the Association led to the demise of the Catholic Insitute, but the bishops were wary of the political tactics and militancy of Lucas's organisation and consequently formed the CPSC (Norman 1985:168). The bishops had come to the conclusion that, education being part of their direct pastoral responsibility, they should keep the nomination and control of the committee in their own hands (Ward 1915:156).

The work of the CPSC (later the Catholic School Committee and subsequently the present Catholic Educational Council) was characterised by the closeness of the relations and aims and objectives of the bishops and the members of the committee. Particuliarly important on the committee were the successive chairmen and secretaries. In 1847 Charles Langdale, formerly of the Catholic Institute, was appointed chairman and Scott Nasmyth Stokes was appointed as secretary to the committee. Stokes later became the second inspector of Catholic schools. He was succeeded by Thomas Allies as secretary. Langdale and Allies were the two most influential members of the CPSC in its formative years. Allies was an articulate exponent of the congruity of interests between the Catholic authorities and the government. He was also an active opponent of plans to create a Catholic university, on the basis that there were not enough students to fill it because the Irish element in the Catholic population were 'not in want of higher education' (Allies 1907:100).

The Catholic bishops of England and Wales charged the CPSC with being responsible for 'the general interests of the education of the poor' (CPSC Report 1848:5). From the outset of the committee's work the bishops stressed the high priority placed on the education of the poor:

> The children of the poor... are at all times the object of our affection and solicitude, and justly, because on their religious education depends not only their own happiness, but also the well being of the Church and State. (CPSC Report 1848: 29)

The presentation of the interests of the State, the Church and the Catholic poor as being mutually reinforcing was to be an insistent theme of Catholic education policy. The name of the committee referred to the 'Catholic Poor' and the specification of the object of Catholic elementary education was the 'Catholic Poor'. In the official discourse of the Church concerning education from the 1840s onwards there is only occasional reference to the fact that the Catholic poor were composed primarily of Irish migrants and their children. For English Catholics in the second half of the 19th century the term 'Catholic Poor' was the preferred means of distinguishing themselves from their Irish co-religionists. The term 'Catholic Poor' did not draw attention to the fact that most of the Catholic poor were Irish.

In the perceptions of the Irish as a social and political threat which developed in the first half of the 19th century, the national identity of the Irish was constantly to the fore. Distinctions were readily made between English and Irish Catholics. Indeed, English Catholics encouraged the highlighting of these differences. In the second half of the century a newly restored hierarchy, intent on building and expanding a unified church, preferred to emphasise the class rather than the national differences within the Catholic body. However, it was clear to all at the time that the Catholic poor, especially in so far as they were conceived as a problem, were Irish. For example, Freheney (1983), writing about the association between Catholicism and delinquency in Victorian London, comments:

> When the Victorians claimed a connection between Catholicism and crime they had of course Irish Catholics of the lower class in mind. Though there were at least three other distinct social groups among Irish Catholics... the poor

> Irish made up 90 per cent of the quarter million Catholics in London. (Frehaney 1983:320)

In line with their contemporaries, the Catholic Church put great faith in the powers of education to transform the working class, particularly a Catholic education. In its first report the CPSC asserted:

> It is now commonly allowed, even by persons whose opinions force them to explain away the fact, that the Catholic religion alone is qualified to influence the masses. What these masses now are, it is beside the purpose to describe. Suffice it to say, that the education of the Catholic Church, and not one or all of the many devices which have been tried, or may be tried, can, and, as far as that education is diffused, will convert these masses into useful citizens, loyal subjects, and good men. (CPSC Report 1848:13)

The long-term transformation that Catholic schools were trying to bring about was described a year later in the Catholic School, a journal published by the CPSC during the first ten years of its existence;

> A working man with a cottage and garden, his own freehold property, and Catholic county voters are charming pictures; and it would rejoice us to think that nothing worse ever became of our School Boys. (Catholic School XI 1849:166)

The production of respectable working-class Catholics out of the Irish masses was the long-term aim of the Church.

In the short term, however, there was no intention of encouraging the Catholic poor to get above their station. These aims are clear in another issue of the Catholic School in the same year. The CPSC expressed itself as having grave doubts about the system of giving money to clothe children

to attend school, as the committee thought education should be sought for its own sake and not a Bible:

> ... in our present circumstances the money spent upon dress is taken from teaching; that our poor schools, as they never will be in reality, so we should not try to make them in appearence, other than schools of the poor; that it is a questionable kindness to provide children for a few years with clothing above their station, and thus create for them an additional want; and that the effect on the moral character of the children is not beneficial. (Catholic School VII & VIII 1849: 102)

If, for most of the 19th century, 'respectability' was out of the reach of most of the Irish, because it depended on skilled work and, most importantly, continuity of employment, then the task of the school was to produce the next best thing: the decent poor (Brehoney 1985: 9).

In its sixth annual report in 1853 the CPSC examines the character of the Catholic population in Great Britain. The committee concludes that a vast proportion is due to immense immigration:

> ... the Catholic community in Great Britain is not one which has grown up in the normal conditions of society; and is therefore tried only by its ordinary difficulties, and beset with its usual sufferings. In every country the poor are a burden laid by God on the charity of the rich; but here it is no customary burden, but swollen out of all proportion by the most helpless classes of a neighbouring country throwing themselves for support on the richer sister island. (CPSC Report 1853: 29)

This is the only reference in the reports of the CPSC to the fact that the Catholic poor are predominantly from Ireland, although the word is not actually used. The above description is utilised to urge further

educational efforts from Catholics regarding the poor, given the scale and unusual nature of the problem English Catholics were faced with.

Although there were differences between middle-class and aristocratic English Catholics and within the clergy about the probity of accepting state aid for Catholic schools, there is no reason to suspect that they were anything but united on the need to elevate Irish life and on the efficacy of education for that purpose. Father Faber, well-known composer of innumerable Catholic hymns, explained in 1852 that the ragged school set up by the London Oratorians was:

> because we felt that the one work of those who wish to raise the condition of the Irish Catholics in London was education. (quoted in Norman 1985:219)

English Catholics were more likely to differ about how much contact they wanted with such a project concerning the Irish. One English Catholic, writing in the Contemporary Review in the 1870s, describes the effect of the distance that existed between English and Irish Catholics:

> English Catholics are more English than their countrymen in many national qualities, and they have joined less in the changes, political and social, of the modern world. Long training has strengthened in them a pride and reticence which shrinks from alliance, whether with converts of their own race or with the Irish who compose the numerical strength of their Church in England. (Bishop 1877:603)

Perhaps this explains why the two prelates most sympathetic to the Irish cause were Cardinal Manning and Bishop Bagshawe, both of whom were converts. Despite their High Anglican and social class origins they did not carry the weight of 300 years of persecution and the disinclination to be associated with the Irish during the Church's quest for respectability.

The same contemporary writer bemoans the fact that insufficient recognition is given to the immense Catholic effort towards the Irish:

> That the Irish do not figure yet more largely than they do in the criminal statistics of our great cities, that this alien million is not an advanced cancer in the English body politic, is due not to policemen, but to priests; not to 'necessary progress', but to the agents of Catholic charity.
>
> ... Apart from its dogmatic value, the use of Catholicism as social cement has probably been underestimated by the fairest sociologist who is not a Catholic; but it will every year gain larger acknowledgement as historic prejudices disappear and the science of human life is better understood. (Bishop 1877:607)

The English Catholic Church, led by the clergy, set about the task of elementary education convinced of the necessity of transforming the children of Irish migrants and confident of the power of Catholic schooling to achieve their objectives: the production of useful citizens, loyal subjects, decent members of the working population and good Catholics.

3. THE EXPANSION OF THE CATHOLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL SYSTEM

In the second half of the 19th century the Catholic Church oversaw the development of a parish-based, diocesan-organised system of elementary schools. The schools became an important element of parish life. The involvement of Irish Catholics in the funding, building and use of the schools became a significant aspect of their incorporation. Catholic schools were 'their schools' and, in the process of creating and defending the schools, the Catholic identity of the Irish in Britain was strengthened. In this section the intention is to examine more closely the expansion of the system of Catholic elementary schools. In particular, the efforts expended by the bishops and the CPSC to persuade all Catholic schools to apply for government grants and to secure the authority of the priest in the management of each school will be explored. The injunctions of the CPSC that school managers should apply for grant aid and the role of the parish priest in the schools are of interest because they disclose the

extent of the control of the hierarchy in the schooling of the Catholic poor. Finally, the level of support for Catholic schools amongst the Irish is explored.

The activities of the CPSC were crucial for the long-term influence and control of the hierarchy over Catholic education. Especially in the early years of its existence the journal of the CPSC, the Catholic School, was a means of continuous exhortations bythe committee to all involved in Catholic elementary education to increase the provision of Catholic schools. More particularly, in the pages of the Catholic School school managers were urged to apply for government grants and accept the benefits of inspection. The Catholic School was sent free to every school and parish and there is no reason to doubt that it was widely read by the clergy, lay managers and teachers.

The persuasive powers of the CPSC were critical because there was considerable opposition in Catholic circles to the acceptance of government aid. There was a division of opinion amongst the bishops on the subject. Some believed that state inspection, the condition of the grants, was potentially hazardous to the independence of the schools. As Norman (1985) comments, in the circumstances of England's national Protestant culture these fears were entirely reasonable (Norman 1985: 160). Bishop Ullathorne of Birmingham, from an old Catholic family, was the main opponent of first Cardinal Wiseman and then Cardinal Manning on this issue. In 1857 Ullathorne wrote 'Notes on the Education Question', in which he was critical of the terms upon which Catholic schools accepted maintenence grants from the State. The chief danger that he saw was of government interference. Inspection of the schools he could accept because it led to improvements but not control. Ullathorne's motives were compounded of suspicion of the government because of the traditional anti-Catholic prejudices of English government and suspicion of the rise of the power of the State as such (Norman 1985: 166).

The views of Cardinal Wiseman were quite different. A firmly Ultramontane prelate, his concern was the provision of adequate Catholic school places. Government aid was essential for a church, the majority of

whose congregation were impoverished Irish migrants. Wiseman had not been against schemes of interdenominational elementary education as long as they included adequate safeguards for denominational instruction. Wiseman's educational policy appears to have been a pragmatic one, in which the closeness of the aims of the government and the Church were apparent. The CPSC articulated these views in the pages of the Catholic School. In the fourth issue a long article states the importance of gaining government assistance and the advantages which could accrue to those schools which applied for grants. One of these advantages was inspection. In the sixth issue of the Catholic School the qualities of the first Catholic inspector, T W Marshall, were extolled:

> ... he (Mr Marshall) possesses in an eminent degree the combination of qualifications requisite to obtain the confidence of our school managers, and to elevate the standard of education in our poor schools... In him every Catholic school has an adviser and a friend, ever ready to apply the results of a general experience to the disentanglement of local difficulties, and we count a visit from the Inspector to be not the lowest of our gains. (Catholic School VI 1849:84)

Early in its life the CPSC had secured an immediate concession from the Committee of Council, that the salaried inspectors of Catholic schools appointed by the Committee of Council to inspect secular education would themselves be Catholics. The CPSC also entered into negotiations with the Committee of Council concerning the management clauses and the basis of awarding building grants. The motivation behind both these sets of negotiations was to secure the denominational rights of the Church and the outcome in each case was to strengthen the influence and control of the clergy on the management committees of Catholic elementary schools.

In an early issue of the Catholic School reference is made to the objections which had been made by some schoolmasters to clerical interference in the schools. The committee's comment on these objections allows no latitude to teachers:

> Such an assumption on the part of a teacher cannot for a moment be tolerated. Subordination is the life of a school. (Catholic School VII & VIII 1849: 100)

A further comment did indicate that the clergy should consult the teachers in a school. There is little doubt, that in the view of the CPSC, the parish priest or member of a religious order was the conduit and instrument of the authority of the Church in all matters concerning elementary schools.

This concentration of power in the hands of the clergy is of interest because it suggests that there will have been some uniformity in the practices of Catholic schools. Lowe (1976), in a comparison of the Catholic clergy in Ireland and in Lancashire in the 19th century, draws conclusions that support this interpretation. Large numbers of Irish people settled in Lancashire in the 19th century and Lowe observes that the Lancashire clergy seem generally to have worked as representatives of the institution of the Church. This contrasts with the parish priests in Ireland, whom he describes asserted themselves more as personalities and through close participation in the daily affairs of their parishioners.

In Britain the expansion and re-establishment of the Church was an effort that the hierarchy directed, as a means of asserting the power of the clergy and of the Church as an institution. This was nowhere more evident than in the development of the system of elementary schools. Norman (1985) points out that the Catholic Institute was, by its constitution, forbidden to take part in politics, and so by convention, was the CPSC. Cardinal Manning disliked the laity taking up Catholic questions with the government, except under the direction of the hierarchy. Manning's policy of using his personal influence with ministers, most notably Gladstone, resulted in the Catholic laity abstaining from public action in furtherance of Catholic interests (Purcell 1895: 383).

One of the main messages of the hierarchy, transmitted by the CPSC, concerned the closeness of the aims of the government and the Catholic

authorities about education. A letter from the CPSC to the Committee of Council reproduced in the Catholic School states:

> The cause of the Government and Ours is identical, though the object be not the same. Whatever advances the education of Catholics will develop the wisdom of the Government scheme; and, on the other hand, wherever the blessings of the Government provision are widely and wisely diffused, there also Catholicity must reap the more abundant harvest. (Catholic School XI 1849:170)

The same theme was still being propounded a quarter of a century later after the introduction of Board schools by the 1870 Education Act. Cardinal Manning and the then secretary of the CPSC, Thomas Allies, both urged participation in the new School Boards being set up.

Allies put the case for Government aid in the following terms;

> The prime and chief value of the grants lay in the improvement of education, of which they were the instrument. It lies in the hearty co-operation in a good work of two powers, which had been enemies for centuries. (quoted in Bland 1976:44)

The relationship with the government was the basis of the existence of the CPSC. There were a number of dissenting voices about this course of action, for example, from the Irish Christian Brothers. The Irish Christian Brothers withdrew from their schools in England in the 1870s for a period because of their antipathy to the constrictions which the government was imposing. This mirrored their withdrawal from the Irish National System in 1836 because they disapproved of the principles of the system, in particular the Christian Brothers suspected the proselytising intentions of the National System (Akenson 1970).

In the manner described above the bishops gradually exerted control over the system of elementary schools. The role of the parish priest was

to raise money, manage the school once built and to oversee efforts to increase the number of parents who sent their children to school. The long-term strategy to transform the children of Irish migrants had no chance of success until the children were presented for education. The Irish were part of that section of the population with the least incentive to send their children to school. Because of the predominance of Irish men in casual labouring jobs, the families often depended for survival on the small sums children earned for example, as street sellers.

For most of the 19th century there were not sufficient places in Catholic elementary schools for the size of the Catholic population. Significantly, it appears that of all the religious ceremonies the one in which there was the highest participation was baptism. Lees (1979) reports that in the 1830s, before the expansion of clergy and chapels, virtually all Irish Catholics brought their children to be baptised. This pattern continued through the 1850s and 1860s, when Roman Catholic parishes in the east and south of London recorded high and increasing numbers of baptisms of the second-generation Irish. The number of potential pupils was, therefore, known and it was the task of the priest to ensure that they attended school. Samuel (1985) describes the situation:

> Child hunting, as Father Vere described it in a memoir of his early days in Soho was a frequent addition to the ordinary duties of the priest. The children of the Irish poor were apt to be irregular in their attendance at school, more especially in the great cities, and a great deal depended on the pressure which could be brought to bear on 'negligent' parents. Even those - they seem in general to have been a small minority - whom the priest found it otherwise 'difficult to touch', might nevertheless be persuaded on this single point to yield. (Samuel 1985:274)

There is considerable evidence that it was Irish Catholics who both funded and built many of the schools and large numbers sent at least their young children to the schools.

Describing the Catholics living in Stratford in east London in the 1860s an English Catholic wrote:

> The Roman Catholic population is about fifteen hundred, who are, with hardly an exception, workers of the rougher sort... Still the railway labourers and roughs must have their church, and even mortgage their weekly pay to the extent of a shilling a week or more to discharge the debt they incurred in its erection. They take a strong personal interest in every detail of the mission expenses, and, hand in hand with the Franciscans, support three schools, and propose to build a fourth for infants, and maintain in decent splendour the worship of their God. (Bishop 1877:608)

This level of participation seems to have continued throughout the century. The Church continued, due to the disadvantageous funding position of Catholic schools, constantly to collect alms from the Catholic working class in order to build schools for their children. Booth (1903) noted in London that the Catholic poor constituted:

> a class apart, being as a rule devout and willing to contribute something towards the support of their schools and the maintenance of their religion. (Booth 3rd Series VII, 1903:401)

Amongst those who either practised their religion or maintained at least some measure of contact with the Church contributions towards Catholic schools were frequent (see also Bishop 1877, Burke 1910)

In the middle of the 19th century the attendance figures for Irish Catholics at school were lower than for other groups (see Lees 1979 on London, Dixon 1979 on Preston). Several factors produced this situation: the lack of Roman Catholic facilities and the poverty of Irish parents were probably the most important of these. There is no clear evidence that the educational aspirations of Irish Catholic parents differed from those of

low-skilled English workers. Whatever the interest of Irish migrants in education, it was difficult for them to obtain schooling for their children before 1870 (Lees 1979:201). During the 1870s there was a rapid increase in the numbers of children attending Catholic elementary schools. The coming of the Board schools acted as a catalyst to the Catholic authorities to both open new schools and ensure Catholic children were not drifting into Board schools. Between 1870 and 1875 the numbers attending Catholic schools rose from 71,666 to 108,300, which represented a 50 per cent increase. In the same period the increase in attendance of Church of England and Dissenting children was 34 per cent (Bishop 1877:627).

In an era of assiduous inspection and payment by results, Catholic schools continued to be penalised by the erratic and short-lived attendance of many Irish children. Attendance was best at infant age, after that the children often had to work. Few children attended for more than two or three years, consequently:

> ... the patient nun or impatient master must content themselves with infant training, which however important, has little showy results in the yearly blue book, and causes the percentage of Catholic passes in higher standards to make but a sorry show. (Bishop 1877:628)

However, Catholic schools appear to have been the most economical. In the 1870s the average cost of teaching each child was respectively £1 11s 11½d, £1 12s 2½d and £1 16s 11d for Church of England, Dissenting and board schools, while for Catholic schools it was £1 9s 5d. The average proficiency of Catholic children, as given in the government report for 1875, was the highest with 59.51 per cent passing, while the general average was 58.83 per cent. In the view of a contemporary Catholic commentator this was due to the singular excellence of the teaching in the younger classes: 69 per cent of Catholic children in the first class in the mid-1870s passed completely, while the general average was 63 per cent for the first class (Bishop 1877:629). A major reason for the 'economy' of Catholic schools was the lower wages paid to their teachers compared with other schools.

The cost of reprdducing the labour of the children of Irish migrants therefore remained cheap. Irish parents contributed on a large scale financially and physically to the building of the schools. The schooling provided, while often assessed as good given the level of attendence and poverty of the children (see 1875 Inspectors reports) was provided at the lowest possible cost. In addition, some Catholic schools continued to be suspicious of government funding and did not apply for grants. These schools were run entirely on collections and consequently were of no cost to the State.

As the number of Catholic elementary schools increased, what developed was a hierarchically organised system which united the Catholic body in England as no other enterprise did. The clergy and many of the English Catholic laity were convinced of the charitable necessity of educating the Catholic poor. The clergy were able to elicit the participation of Irish Catholics in the parish on the issue of the education of their children, if not any other issue. The whole enterprise was overseen by the bishops through the agency of the Catholic Poor School Committee (CPSC).

4. THE CURRICULUM OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND DENATIONALISATION

The central hypothesis of the thesis is that the de-nationalisation of Irish Catholics was based on strengthening their identity as Catholics at the expense of weakening their national identity. This process of incorporating the children of Irish migrants depended not only on the children being sent to school but on what took place at school. In the mid-19th century, in addition to denominational instruction, schools were expected to provide some secular education. From the 1860s onwards the size of the grants schools received was in part dependent on the proficiency of the pupils in reading, writing and arithmetic. It is useful to examine both the religious education and secular instruction offered by Catholic schools in order to discover what form of schooling was considered appropriate for the Irish Catholic working class. This exploration will also facilitate an assessment of the means by which the curriculum contributed to the denationalisation of these children.

Under the arrangements the Committee of Council agreed with the various churches in the 1840s, each denomination was given sole control of religious instruction, but the secular curriculum was subject to government inspection and direction. There can be little doubt that in Catholic elementary schools, especially in the early decades, the greatest priority was placed on religious instruction and that this dominated the curriculum. This set a pattern that was to continue throughout much of the next century. For example, Fielding (1988), writing about Catholics in Manchester in the 1920s, quotes Dean Murray of St. Wilfreds in Hulme praising his late headmaster for realising that:

> the true function of a Catholic teacher was to train the soul of the child for Heaven and that foundation of that training should be the moral teaching of Christ as explained and interpreted by the Catholic church. He had an intense love of his church... He excelled in loyalty to the clergy and in respect for their office, and he instilled that into

> the children from their earliest years. (quoted in Fielding 1988:50)

Fielding comments that the most important effect of a Catholic education was that it emphasised the centrality of the Church to the individual at a very early age, placing him or her in contact with, and forcing acceptance of, its authority. This was achieved partly by the role accorded the parish priest, but also through the sustained effort injected into the transmission of religious knowledge compared with the periods of secular instruction.

Lees (1979), in a brief consideration of the practices of Catholic schools, concludes that, whereas Catholics' secular education was turgid and flat, their religious education in the mid-19th century was a multi-media effort combining the appeal of music, recreation and personal example. Lees points out that we do not know exactly what effects Catholic education had upon Irish workers' children, but she thinks it may be surmised that those who passed through the schools had their Catholic loyalties reinforced and grew in familiarity with the norms and messages of the Church (Lees 1979:206).

The diversity of religious education was encouraged by the hierarchy. Cardinal Wiseman had specifically advocated Italian-style missions for the Irish in London as providing a flamboyant ritual more likely to attract the Irish working class than the restrained practices of English Catholicism. Much later in the century Dr O'Reilly, the Bishop of Liverpool, expressed his wish that Catholic schools avoid 'colourless religious teaching in which there is nothing distinctive and dogmatic' (quoted in Pritchard 1983:116). In mid-century the competition with proselytising Protestant charitable schools, and later the competition of Board schools, were in part responsible for the concentration of the Catholic Church on religious education and the efforts expended to ensure that religion was a spectacular experience.

Considerable attention was also given in the schools to doctrinal instruction. Central to this was learning the catechism. In 1888, after

education was made compulsory, the bishops gave detailed instructions to the clergy and Catholic teachers to heighten further the denominational content of the instruction given in Catholic schools. Priests were to conduct catechism classes in school hours; the clergy were to 'superintend and test the religious instruction given to Pupil-Teachers by Masters and Mistresses of the schools'; there were to be annual retreats for teachers and pupils; 'objects and pictures of piety were to be placed in the classroom' (quoted in Norman 1985:174). Fielding (1988) considers that within the schools religion, as a consequence, seemingly took priority over the rest of the pupils' education. At one school in Manchester, St Edmund's, whereas the government inspector complained about inadequate teaching standards in the secular subjects, the Diocesan Religious Inspector reported in 1928 that:

> The children generally gave evidence of being carefully and efficiently trained in Religious Knowledge. (quoted in Fielding 1988:50)

What took place in the schools was part of a greater plan for winning the continued allegience of working-class parishioners. Archer (1986) describes how, by the end of the 19th century, most of the organisations that would provide the structure of the parish in the following century were founded:

> Ultimately there was an organisation for every stage of life. It started with the schools, for it was required 'on pain of sin' that Catholic children should go to Catholic schools, though there were never enough places for all those baptised as Catholics. Here, through the medium of the questions and answers of the catechism, the tenets of Catholicism were taught and, on Mondays, enquiries were made as to whether the children had attended mass. After school age, separate clubs for boys and girls took over, with a card for registering monthly communion, and on leaving those at the age of eighteen people were to enter the men's or women's Blessed Sacrament Guild. (Archer 1986:93)

Other associations proliferated, amongst the most important being the Legion of Mary and the Society of St Vincent de Paul. Not only did this process of incorporation depend on a firm beginning in the school but often the school building served as the social centre for these activities (see Lowe 1976, Fielding 1988).

This emphasis on the religious education of the children of Irish migrants should not obscure the significance of the secular instruction they received. If overshadowed at first by religion, the teaching of other subjects was to take on greater importance, as it did in other elementary schools. The demand for Catholic pupil-teachers made it imperative even in the mid-19th century that serious attention be given to the secular curriculum. Later the demands of public examinations would have an inevitable impact. The intention here is to explore through the limited means available the presence and absence of reference to Ireland in the curriculum.

It was religious education which gave Catholic schools their distinctiveness. In all other aspects of the curriculum Catholic schools differed very little from other elementary schools for the working class. In the mid-19th century Catholic pupils would have been given only an introduction to basic literacy. Lessons centred on reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. Pupils who stayed long enough to reach higher grades might in addition learn geometry or algebra, history, geography and English grammar (Lees 1979). There is little comment on the secular curriculum in the Catholic School or in the early reports of the CPSC. However, school books are discussed and an examination of the recommendations of the CPSC gives an indication of what the CPSC considered was appropriate content for the education of Irish working-class children.

In the second issue of the Catholic School in 1848 the CPSC signalled that the long-term plan of the committee was to produce a series of schoolbooks 'adapted in all respects to the requirements of English Catholic Schools'. In the meantime the CPSC stated:

> ... a general opinion prevails, that the publications of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland form the best educational course procurable in the English language. (Catholic School II 1848:27)

The CPSC noted that the textbooks of the Irish Christian Brothers had been adopted by some schools, but it is clear the CPSC favoured the books of the Irish Commissioners.

The books of the Irish Commissioners came to be widely used in Britain because they were on the Committee of Council's list and therefore grant aid towards their purchase was available. Because of the circumstances in which they were produced the Irish lesson-books are examples of direct state influence on the content of schoolbooks. The Irish Commissioners had been instructed to:

> Exercise the most entire control over all books to be used in the schools, whether in the combined moral and literary, or separate religious instruction; none to be employed in the first, except under the sanction of the Board, nor in the latter, but with the approbation of those members of the board who are of the same religious persuasion with those for whose use they are intended. (Report of the Irish Commissioners 1841:172)

In Britain, using the grant system as an incentive, the Committee of Council intended to have a similar influence over secular instruction as the National System of Education in Ireland.

In 1834 the Irish Commissioners issued their first annual report and announced that four lesson-books were available. Almost every year they announced further publications. The Commissioners tried to provide all the books the schools and training colleges in Ireland would need, and by 1850 they had produced 41 titles. On this lengthy list were all the books the schools required except for a history text. History was a subject too controversial for the Commissioners to be able to publish an agreed volume

(Goldstrom 1972:65). Each volume published had to have the approval of both the Anglican and Roman Catholic Archbishops of Dublin. The fact that the Irish Commissioners' books had been approved by a Catholic authority undoubtedly explains why the CPSC favoured these books rather than others on the Committee of Council's list.

An examination of the content of these books gives some indication of the content of education in Catholic schools. Goldstrom (1972) describes the production of the books and points out that if the clamour of Protestants or Catholics was loud enough, an offending passage was removed. For example, references to Ireland proved offensive to some non-Catholics, and Irish geography, history and folklore all but vanished in later editions of the readers. It was this exclusion of references to Ireland that made the readers suitable for schools in Britain. Ireland therefore was considered a controversial subject from the inception of state education. The object of the Irish Commissioners' books was to diffuse the major tensions in Irish life:

> These pious conservative textbooks were designed, among other things, to cool down two major tension areas in Irish national life: the tension between the Protestants and the Catholics and the tension between the British rulers and their Irish subjects. The books attempted to diffuse these conflicts by stressing Bible knowledge, Christian virtues and a common Anglo-Saxon heritage. They were, in fact, so successful in ignoring the specifics of the situation that they could be used in any school in British ruled territory. (Repo 1974:121)

The CPSC concerned as they were with the possibilities of any Protestant bias, would have found nothing to remark upon in the absence of Ireland from the Irish lesson books.

In particular, the books went to great lengths to explain why society was organised as it was and why the status quo had to be preserved. Government, army, police and law courts were portrayed as essential to all:

> Even the very worst government that ever was, is both much better and much cheaper than no government at all. (quoted in Goldstrom 1972: 72)

Other lessons justify the social divisions which exist between people. These themes, the need to respect private property and to preserve the existing social order were included in the books in a period when in Ireland agrarian outrages against enclosures were commonplace and when agitation against British rule was accelerating.

Another theme was of the need to be tolerant of people in other countries because:

> ...it would be a folly and sin for nations to be jealous of one another when, trading together, they would be richer and better off. (quoted in Goldstrom 1972: 79)

While the attitude to other nationalities in the textbooks is not hostile, their inhabitants tend to be stereotyped and emerge in none too favourable a light. Most significantly, as Goldstrom notes, by implication the English are normal, so normal that their characteristics need no comment. The ideas in the books stem from England and many of the positive examples of a good and advantageous life are based on stories set in England. These books had an obvious propaganda value in Ireland in the mid-19th century. But because of these national characteristics, intertwined with the appropriate lessons in political economy, the books were considered suitable for use in Britain.

The Irish lesson-books came to have widespread use in England. In 1851 alone a hundred thousand copies of the books were sold to schools in England and, despite the opposition of English publishers, the number sold each year had trebled by 1859 (Goldstrom 1966: 136). Even more significant for their long-term influence is the fact that their popularity and suitability meant that the Irish lesson-books were much imitated. Publishers in England brought out virtual replicas in order to attract sales and virtually every advanced reader published by religious bodies

from the late 1830s to the 1880s contained passages and examples from the books of the Irish system. When the National Society produced its first advanced readers in 1868, it included some excerpts from the Irish lesson-books. Similiarly, when a series of elementary books for Catholic schools was produced in the 1860s they incorporated substantial extracts from the Irish books (Goldstrom 1966: 137).

In 1851 the Catholic inspector, Marshall, advocated the books of the Irish National Board and confirmed that all Catholic schools run by religious teaching orders, which were considered the best schools by the CPSC, used these books rather than those of the Christian Brothers (Catholic School Vol II, 1X 1852: 240). Ten years later the Newcastle Commission commented on the predominance of Irish reading books in all schools throughout the country (Goldstrom 1966: 138). What this confirms is that the direction in which the CPSC and the Catholic inspector urged Catholic schools was similar to the practices and content of education throughout the state-aided sector. The teaching of subjects other than religion differed very little in Catholic elementary schools from other schools.

From the begining of the Catholic elementary system the content of the secular education of Irish working-class children in Britain, therefore, contained little reference to Ireland. What mention was made of Ireland in the new Catholic readers which replaced the Irish lesson-books primarily praised the Catholicity of the Irish as their outstanding feature (see McClelland 1964: 176). Thus in the priority placed on religious instruction, in the effort which went into religious instruction, and in the manner in which the religious pervaded all the rituals of school life, the identity of the children as Catholics was implanted and constantly reinforced. There was a corresponding silence in the curriculum content of Catholic schools about Ireland.

5. THE CONTINUING SEGREGATION AND DIFFERENTIATION OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION

In chapter five the argument was made that the development of a separate system of Catholic elementary schools was partly the result of the fact that the anti-Catholicism of both Anglicans and Nonconformists successfully prevented the establishment of interdenominational schooling. Consequently separate Catholic schools were the only option for the Catholic church. Separate Catholic schools achieved the object of the opponents of interdenominational schools in that it ensured that the children of Irish Catholic migrants were segregated from other children. Within the Catholic Church there had always been some people who urged a policy of separate schools. However, it was not until the mid-1840s that this had become the sole strategy available. One lesson of the 1830s and 1840s was that it was in the arenas of local government in which anti-Catholicism found most expression. This in part explains both the willingness to co-operate with central government and the promotion of this policy amongst Catholic educationalists. The incorporatist ethos of the Whig/Peelite administrations of the 1830s and 1840s was close to that of the Catholic Church. These administrations, for reasons already described in chapter five, were prepared to fund Catholic education.

These points need stressing because this formative period for Catholic elementary education shaped the response of the Church to later educational developments and had a significant influence on the relations between the Church and the Irish communities in Britain. Particularly interesting to examine is the response of the Catholic Church to the 1870 Forster Education Act. The Act is credited with establishing a national education system in Britain for the first time. Local elected School Boards were established and they were to run Board schools. Ostensibly all denominational instruction was removed from Board schools and they were to teach a common Christian syllabus. In addition many new requirements were now made of schools in return for education grants from the government. These included the use of certified teachers, a minimum requirement of four hours secular instruction a day, minimum attendance of 250 half days from any child for whom an examination grant was applied, set numbers of

teachers and a set amount of physical space for specified numbers of children.

Catholic schools would be under heavier pressure than other schools to meet these new conditions because of the poverty of the Church's congregation. However, the main objection of the Catholic Church to the Act was that each school, having met all necessary conditions, could only claim a maximum of 50 per cent of its costs from the government. The Board schools would have the rest of their costs met from the rates, while denominational schools would have to meet half the costs of the schools themselves. The objection to this was that it formed a double burden for Catholics. As Beales (1946: 460) describes, the establishment of Board schools on this basis meant Catholics would have to contribute towards the new Board schools through taxation. They could not, however, in all conscience use these schools for their own children because the common Christian syllabus was essentially Protestant. At the same time, therefore, Catholics had to finance their own schools, as in the past.

The response of Catholics to the 1870 Act was inevitably influenced by the fact that the new Board schools were to be administered at local level by elected officials. The Catholic experience in the 1850s and 1860s had been of continuing anti-Catholicism effective at local government level through, for example, the decisions of magistrates courts and of Poor Law guardians. In particular, there had been many moves to prevent the Catholic Church having access to Catholic children in workhouses, reformatories and industrial schools. The proselytising intentions of Poor Law Guardians and other officials towards what were usually young Irish Catholic children was clear. Until the Poor Law Act of 1868, which resulted from a campaign led by Cardinal Manning's direct intervention with Gladstone, Catholics viewed the Poor Law legislation as being administered as if its object:

> was not the relief of poverty but the etirpation of Roman Catholic religion. (Freheney 1983: 151)

The Act of 1868 enabled the Church to insist on the release of Catholic

children from workhouses or reformatories to Catholic institutions. Manning established a central fund for the establishment of Catholic reformatories.

A further consequence of these campaigns was that they reinforced the alliance of the hierarchy with central government. The CPSC, in its annual report in 1870, stated that:

> The Bishops have no confidence and no hope of protection in any other authority than in that of the Government. (CPSC Report 1870:5)

This was to place the bishops and the CPSC in a difficult position in 1870, given the disadvantageous position they felt Catholics were placed in by the Education Act. In addition to the double financial burden the Act imposed, co-operation with the Board school system was impossible because of the conviction that:

> Under the condition of the times, these [the Board schools] would be aggresively Protestant in practice, whatever the theory. (CPSC statement quoted in Bland 1976:37)

As Bland (1976) writes, in a period in which purely secular education was practically inconceivable, the Board schools were certain to inculcate a compromise Protestantism, acceptable to many Anglicans and Nonconformists, but no more acceptable to Catholics than completely denominational Protestantism.

The Catholic Church in Ireland had co-operated with the Irish System but, as has been described in chapter five, in practice the National System in Ireland had both a proselytising and Anglicising intention. This eventually caused a weakening in the Catholic Churchs willingness to participate in the system as originally set up. The changes in the National System implemented in Ireland as a consequence greatly consolidated the power base of the Church in Ireland (see Akenson 1970). In the 1830s and 1840s a genuine attempt at interdenominational education in

Liverpool, in which the Catholic Church happily participated, was ended by an alliance of forces in which the Protestant Association was a leader. Thirty years later the Protestant Alliance, a successor organisation, was very active. Although they represented a minority in the extremity of their views, groups like the Protestant Alliance and the Protestant Society were constantly articulating their views and occupied many public platforms and consequently were not without a wider influence.

Their chief object of attack was the Catholic Church itself; however, their fear of contamination was chiefly aroused by the presence of the Irish in Britain. For example, The Bulwark, an ultra-Protestant journal, stated that:

> nearly every large town is now full of Irish papists, and the whole moral and social atmosphere of Britain, and her colonies is infested with the malaria of the Vatican coming from the Emerald Isle. (The Bulwark 1862 quoted in Freheney 1983: 328)

As has already been identified, for an earlier period in the 19th century the chief fear directed towards the Irish was of their contaminating powers because of their numbers and concentration. The Irish might be 'contagious' because of their social habits, their religious practices or their political activities. The solution was separate Catholic schools. The extreme Protestant organisations were in a minority in wanting to stamp out popery altogether. But amongst the rest of respectable society, by the last third of the century there is little evidence that Catholicism was other than tolerated. In fact, High Anglican converts were arguably more of a minority in the population than the Protestant Alliance, which, judging by the anti-Catholic and anti-Irish riots of the 1860s and 1870s, could generate substantial popular support. However, the Catholic Church was recognised, especially in government circles, as performing a necessary role in dealing with the education and delinquency of the Irish Catholic working class.

All these considerations led the bishops and the CPSC to conclude that the only response appropriate to the 1870 Act was a massive effort to provide enough places in Catholic schools for Catholic children. If these places were not provided, then Catholic children, with the prospect of compulsory education looming, would be forced into Board schools. Between June 1870 and the end of 1873 257 Catholic schools were built or enlarged. These schools provided 56,456 more places at the cost of £259,179 (Bland 1976:45). A Crisis Fund Committee had been set up in 1870. It estimated the English Catholic population at 1,243,000 which was five per cent of the whole population. Approximately 185,000 were of school age. At the time there were places for 103,347 in inspected schools and 25,000 places in unaided schools. Within three years, therefore, the immediate crisis was averted (Bland 1976). The distribution of the Crisis Fund money was limited by Manning's decision that it should go only to schools which accepted the government's terms. In this way Manning's policy of continous co-operation with the government was enforced and the number of autonomous Catholic schools reduced.

There were dissenting voices: for example, the Irish Christian Brothers, who had taught for years in Liverpool, decided not to accept inspection, examination and supervision of their work by the government inspectors. Within a few years of this decision the schools closed. Manning was also determined that Catholics should participate in the new School Boards; he considered that the danger for Catholics in standing aloof from them would be that Catholic schools would be exposed to the danger of the Boards' hostility (Norman 1985:172). Others in the hierarchy took a different position. For example, Ullathorne wrote to Manning in 1876 arguing that the Boards were:

> ... in their nature un-Catholic... Their constitution, object and aim is to establish and maintain schools and propagate a system of education in antagonism with Catholic education, and with all definite religious education. (quoted in Norman 1985:173)

Ullathorne's view did not hold sway, although it was acknowledged by a

government minister in the Conservative administration in 1874 that the School Boards were overtly political institutions (Fraser 1977:23). The School Boards became a battleground between the forces who wanted state secular education with voluntary religious education and the forces who would not divorce educational provision from a denominational context. The Catholic Church was increasingly aligned with the Church of England and the Conservative Party, their chief opponents in an earlier era, in a struggle to preserve denominational schools.

In the final quarter of the 19th century the educational activities of the Church were dominated by a campaign for equality of educational opportunity for denominational schools. Herbert Vaughan, Bishop of Salford, later to be Cardinal Vaughan, organised the Voluntary Schools Association, hoping to create a united front with Protestants who favoured denominational schools. The Voluntary Schools Association aimed to redress a number of grievances: for example, the limitation of government grant to what could be matched from other sources; the ruling that parents of voluntary-school children who asked for relief from school fees had to go to the Board of Guardians, while those from Board schools went to the more sympathetic School Boards; the removal of the definition 'unnecessary schools', which meant that no grant was available for a new denominational school in an area where a Board school existed and was considered large enough to accomodate all children (Bland 1976).

The campaign had some success and Cardinal Manning petitioned the government about Catholic grievances. It was during this period that education became the only political issue to challenge Irish national politics amongst the Irish in Britain. The election of 1885 has been subject to particular attention by historians because during the course of it both Parnell, as leader of the Home Rule movement, and Cardinal Manning for different reasons urged the Irish and Catholics respectively not to vote for the Liberals. By the mid 1880s the franchise had been extended to much of the working class. It is, however, difficult to estimate how many Irish men would have qualified for the franchise and even more difficult to estimate how many would have exercised their newly acquired right. Howard (1947), in a detailed examination of a number of consituencies in England

in which the Irish and Catholic vote might be significant, concludes that the Catholic education issue determined the votes cast more than did Parnell's call for a boycott of Liberal candidates. The Conservatives duly won the election and the Cross Commission was set up with Cardinal Manning as a prominent member. The recommendations of the Commission formed the main basis of the 1902 Education Act, which secured the rights of denominational schools within the state education system.

Either because of failure to qualify for the franchise or disinclination to participate in the electoral system, it is certain that substantial sections of the Irish working class did not cast a vote in the 1885 election. However, it still remains indicative of the power of the educational issue that it may have had more influence on those who did vote than the claims of the Home Rule movement. What does seem to be suggested in this period is that Irish Catholics were prepared to defend the schools which they largely built. The argument here is that the long-term impact of the identification of the Irish communities with the parish school was important for the incorporation of the Irish and their continuing segregation and differentiation from the rest of the working class.

Archer (1986), in a study of the Catholic Church in the north-east of England, highlights the extent to which Catholics were viewed as a 'race apart', and the most obvious symbol of this to many non-Catholics was the Catholic school. In an interview with one non-Catholic who grew up between the two World Wars this century he elicited the following observations:

> ... we didn't mix you know really, you know at school or anything like this. They were very much at that time a separate community from non-Catholics. I suppose they had their affairs, like dances. I don't remember even mixing with them socially... they were just a different type of people I think as far as I was concerned - like Jews you know. (quoted in Archer 1986:58)

Archer cites many other examples of both the perception of the difference between Catholics and non-Catholics on both sides and of the means by which

these differences were constantly regenerated. The separate institutions of the Irish Catholic parish, in particular the school, were central to this.

6. CATHOLIC EDUCATION AND IRISH IDENTITY

A consideration of the education of the Irish in Britain throws new light on the relationship between the Catholic Church and Irish communities. The evidence presented here suggests that the 'inward-looking, nationalist, Catholic ghetto' areas that many historians of the Irish in Britain describe were neither the end product of a plan of the Church nor the consequence of the migrants' unwillingness to integrate. Rather, both the strategy of the English Catholic Church towards its Irish congregation and the response of the migrants to their new environment have to be assessed in the context of the economic, political and social changes underway in 19th-century Britain. The demand for Irish labour, the paramount need for political stability and the establishment of class allegiances' combined with the role of anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish hostility, were crucial determinants of the experience of the Irish in Britain.

An aim of chapter four was to show that the Catholic Church, in its dealings with the Irish working class, encountered communities with other priorities separate from Catholicism. Most significant of these priorities were the political activities of the Irish. In the final third of the century politics in Irish areas continued to centre on Irish national issues. Each phase of the struggle against the Union or over land was mirrored in Britain by support activities amongst the Irish migrant communities (see Walker 1972 on Dundee; Lowe 1977 on Lancashire; O'Connell 1975 on Liverpool; Lees 1979 on London).

There is every indication of a considerable struggle between the church authorities and the Irish groups who were involved in these political activities. In Scotland, Walker (1972) has described an open struggle in Dundee between the Botherhood of St Patrick (a front

organisation for the Fenians) and the church. The clergy in Dundee, both Scottish and Irish, urged upon the Irish migrants the utility of suppressing their politics. Walker observes that the nub of the contradiction for the Irish migrants was that:

> To be Irish in Scotland in the 1860s required the positing of a secular sphere of values, but one which priests chose to regard as evidence of incipient apostasy. Thus to be Catholic made it difficult to be Irish, while to be Irish without being Catholic was virtually unthinkable. (Walker 1972: 655)

These difficulties became even more acute as many Irish people became involved in the labour movement in the final quarter of the 19th century.

These same contradictions existed for Irish migrants in England. As Brehoney (1985) has commented, the values promoted in the area of the private, particularly by the Church, paralleled those of the dominant groups of British society, but especially those held by the Tory-Anglican bloc. The tension between those values and other aspects of the Irish identity, together with the political expression of that strain, is an area which requires serious research and investigation (Brehoney 1985: 9). These tensions were explicitely referred to by a priest writing to The Tablet in 1885. Home Rule was the dominant political issue for Irish congregations at that time. The priest refers to the fact that his own congregation expected him to speak out on the subject. If he did not do so, he could experience opposition and lose touch with the people (quoted in Greene 1975: 23). Apart from Cardinal Manning and Bishop Bagshawe of Nottingham, there were no expressions of support for Irish Home Rule by the Church authorities. Greene (1975) comments on the relative silence on the issue of the Catholic hierarchy and the Catholic press of the day.

It is interesting that while the Fenians were widely condemned by the Catholic Church, a different view was taken of the Primrose League. The Primrose League was formed in honour of Disraeli. The bulk of the membership were Protestant and the League was at the forefront of

opposition to Home Rule and had friendly relations with the secret societies of Orangemen (Greene 1975:27). Bishop Bagshawe announced in 1886 that he would withdraw the sacrements from any Catholics in his diocese who joined the Primrose League. This action caused consternation amongst the rest of the Catholic hierarchy. Cardinal Manning, despite his own sympathies for Home Rule, was swift in writing to The Times that there was no prohibition on League membership in his diocese. Other bishops, including Ullathorne, pressed Bagshawe to withdraw his prohibition. Ultimately he did so after instruction from Rome, which followed Manning's appeal to the Vatican on the issue.

Manning viewed the matter as involving 'the relation of the Church to public opinion and the Government of the country' (quoted in Norman 1985:196). The Primrose League was an issue which demonstrates the extent of the sensitivity of the Catholic authorities to the pressure of public opinion and the force of anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish hostility which still permeated political and social relations. The continuing low profile of English Catholics is shown by the decline in the number of Catholic Members of Parliament during the 19th century. In the Parliament of 1831 there were eight Catholic Members, by the end of the century there were only five Catholic Members of parliament (Holmes 1978).

Bishop Goss of Liverpool, from an 'Old Catholic' family, was typical of the type of bishop the Irish encountered. Goss's outspoken statements of his patriotism meant that he was sometimes at odds with his Ultramontane cardinal. Goss declared of Catholics in 1864:

> We have been born on the soil and have all the feelings of Englishmen. And we are proud of the government under which we now live. We believe it to be the best, the most perfect government in the world... We belong to the nation, in heart we are English, in purpose we are loyal. (Doyle 1982:444)

Goss was bishop of the diocese with the largest proportion of Irish Catholics in England. Doyle (1982) describes how Goss angered his Irish coreligionists by condemning Fenianism, which was strong in Liverpool, and

when he said the Irish should abstain from drink and other vices. Goss considered that only by playing down their nationality could the Irish be accepted by society. At a St Patrick's night banquet in 1861 he asserted that he was proud to be an English subject and that he thought this country was one of the greatest in the world; he went on:

> When I say this country I mean England, Ireland and Scotland, because it is perfectly chimerical to attempt to separate them - it is an impossibility. (Doyle 1982:445)

In this statement Goss denies the specificity of Irish national identity and encapsulates the gulf which persisted between English and Irish Catholics on the subject.

It is not suprising, therefore, that one contemporary account we have suggests the pressure experienced by the second generation to marginalise Irish identity. Tom Barclay, in his memoirs of a bottlewasher, recounts his childhood in Leicester in the 1850s and 1860s After describing his mother's recitation of old bardic legends and laments he continues:

> But what had I to do with all that? I was becoming English. I did not hate things Irish, but I began to feel that they must be put away; they were inferior to things English... Outside the house everything was English: my catechism, lessons, prayers, songs, tales, games... Presently I began to feel ashamed of the jeers and mockery and criticism. (quoted in Lees 1979:190)

This quotation indicates that 'becoming English' was not based on an inevitable process of cultural assimilation but on acquiring a perception of the inferiority of Irishness compared with Englishness. The cultural pressures to become English and reject Irishness that Barclay cites primarily emanated from the Catholic church. His world outside the house was defined by the Church and the school.

7. CONCLUSION

The main objective of this chapter has been to explore how the denationalising policy of Catholic education was implemented. Examining the aims of the Catholic hierarchy, as articulated by the CPSC, reveals that both social class and national motives were intertwined in the formation of Catholic elementary school policy. Throughout the 19th century the interests of the State, the Catholic Church and the Catholic poor were presented by the bishops and the CPSC as harmonious. Catholic schools were to transform the Irish into useful citizens, loyal subjects, decent members of the working class and good Catholics. The control the Church exerted over the expansion of the Catholic elementary school system ensured that Catholic education was a more uniform experience than it might otherwise have been.

The denationalising policy was evident from early in the second half of the 19th century, with scant references to the Irishness of the Catholic poor being made in public by Catholic authorities. The examination of the expansion of Catholic schools shows that, in effect, the Irish paid for their own incorporation by funding and building the schools and sending their children to them. In the schools denationalisation of the Irish was attempted by strengthening their identity as Catholics and weakening their national identity. Religious education gave Catholic schools their distinctiveness and there was a corresponding absence in the curriculum content of the schools about Ireland. Removing the history of Ireland was a chief means of denationalisation because it created a silence in the narrative of history.

The continuing segregation and differentiation of the Irish Catholic working class through their attendence at Catholic schools was ensured by the provisions of the 1870 Education Act, the political climate in which it was introduced and the response of the Catholic episcopacy to the Act. Catholic education was the one issue on which the Church was prepared to take an assertive public position, on the grounds of equality of educational opportunity. Irish Catholic congregations were drawn into the defence of the schools, to the extent of conflicting with their nationalist

aspirations. Catholic schooling became the most successful aspect of the mission of the English Catholic Church to the Irish in Britain: successful in that the proportion of parents who sent their children to Catholic schools was higher than the proportion of Catholics who practised their religion. It was in the schools, therefore, that the best hope lay for transforming Irish Catholics. Catholic schools provided the context in which the complexity and contradictions of the relationship of Irish working-class Catholics to the English Catholic Church and to living in Britain were at their most acute. The consequences of this situation for the identity of Irish Catholics in Britain are examined in the empirical study which forms part two of the thesis.

CHAPTER SEVEN

INTRODUCTION TO THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

1. INTRODUCTION

The major hypothesis being investigated in the thesis is that the education of the Irish in Britain acted as a denationalising agency. Catholic schools present an identity to both pupils and teachers in which is reflected only their Catholicity rather than their Irishness. Part one of the thesis was concerned with the historical origin of this mirror. It was argued that denationalisation has been the crucial component of attempts to incorporate the Irish in Britain. In the empirical study which forms part two of the thesis the concern is to explore the consequences of this denationalising process for the construction of Irish identity in Britain. In the empirical study the incorporatist aim of Catholic education is explored in interviews with selected teachers and pupils in schools in London and Liverpool.

The aims of the empirical study are twofold: first, to discover whether the practices of Catholic schools continue to render the Irish antecedents of a majority of their pupils invisible, thus perpetuating the incorporatist strategies of the 19th century; second, to examine the degree to which class, religion and nationalism significantly continue to determine the experience of being Irish in Britain, by means of an analysis of the reported national identity of the teachers and pupils in the schools. A further hypothesis is that region, class, generation and cultural practices can explain differentially variations in the identity of people of Irish descent in Britain. Succeeding generations of people of Irish descent have become more distanced from their 'Irishness'. The empirical study is designed to examine this distancing as the consequence of specific institutional practices rather than a function of a pre-ordained pattern of assimilation or integration.

The identity of the Irish in Britain has been the particular object of the denationalising policies of various institutions. A prime object of the empirical study is, therefore, to identify, categorise and account for Irish identity and its regulation by the practices of Catholic schools. The expectation is that class, region and cultural practices are significant factors in determining the identity of people of Irish descent in this country. Although generation is a relevant factor it is not anticipated to be as crucial as class, region and cultural practices.

The empirical research comprises a small-scale case study. For a number of reasons the investigation could be only an exploratory study. Limitations of time, funding and labour power precluded a more comprehensive survey. The historical analysis created the orientation of the empirical study. The study, although small scale, may point to processes, features and conditions which could well be the subject of a larger project.

This chapter is divided into five sections. Each section develops in detail the precise objectives of the empirical study, as exemplified in the successive stages of its planning and execution. The first section describes the study and focuses on the selection criteria used for the locations, the schools and the interviewees. The second section examines the construction of the questionnaire. It concentrates on the relationship between the questions to be asked and the hypotheses being tested. The third section describes the implementation of the study and gives an account of the pilot study. The next section includes the rationale for choosing the interview method and the final section deals with the limitations of the sample and the design of the empirical study.

2. THE SAMPLE : SELECTION CRITERIA

2.1 THE LOCATION OF THE STUDY

Two areas were selected for the study. Each is representative of a different phase of Irish migration to Britain. This ensured that in one area the schools selected would predominantly contain pupils descended from previous generations of Irish migrants, while the schools selected in the other area would contain pupils whose parents had migrated in the 1950s and 1960s. The aim is to compare the identity and responses of the pupils in each area in order to explore both the long-term impact of the incorporatist aim of Catholic schools and the extent to which this remains a characteristic of Catholic schools' practice. London and Liverpool were selected as the two areas. These two cities fulfil the essential criterion of representing contrasting areas of Irish settlement.

There are two reasons why London was selected as one of the areas in which to locate the study. First, in the 20th century the majority of Irish migration has been directed towards the Midlands and the South East of England. One consequence is that London now has more Irish-born people living in it than any other city in the world outside Ireland. This is the consequence of migration since the 1930s and accounts for many of the Irish areas of London, for example, Hammersmith, Brent, Camden and Islington. Thus London is the most significant city for Irish migrants coming to Britain this century and affords the opportunity of selecting a population who were either born in Ireland or are second generation.

Liverpool was selected as representative of the Irish migration to Britain in the 19th century. Liverpool was the major port of entry in the mid-19th century and had the highest proportion of Irish people in its population of anywhere in England or Wales. Today there are many third and fourth generation Irish in Liverpool. However, there are substantially fewer first and second generation Irish because the pattern of Irish migration in this century has been sharply different from the last century. Thus Liverpool was chosen because it provided the opportunity of studying a

population of Irish descent whose characteristics were primarily determined by the experiences of migration in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

2.2 THE SELECTION OF THE SCHOOLS

The interviews were carried out in secondary schools. The type of questions which made up the interview schedule meant that older pupils would be best able to discuss them. To ensure a direct comparison between the teachers and the pupils on questions about the school's practice, the same questionnaire was used for the teachers as for the pupils. Due to the constraints on the study previously described and the logistical problems involved in carrying out the interviews in cities two hundred miles apart, it was decided to restrict the number of schools to two in each city. In the first instance, a number of Catholic secondary schools were identified in the areas in each city associated with the appropriate period of Irish migration.

A letter was sent to the head teacher of these schools. The letters briefly outlined the nature of the research and the reasons for carrying it out in the particular school. In Liverpool it was possible to use personal contacts as an introduction or follow up the letter. In London such contacts did not exist so everything depended on the response to the letter. The initial venture produced positive responses from two-thirds of the schools approached (those that responded negatively did so because the timing was inconvenient for the schools in question). From these schools it was possible to choose two schools in the same areas in both cities. The choice of schools facilitated the study because it resulted in the research being concentrated in one geographical area in both London and Liverpool. This ensured a greater familiarity with the catchment area of the schools. Single-sex schools are typical of the vast majority of Catholic secondary schools. Consequently, a boys and a girls school was selected in each city.

A characteristic of Catholic secondary education in the 19th century was the heavy preponderance of girls schools compared with boys schools.

This was due to the existence of a large number of religious orders for women, many from France and Belgium, which concentrated on providing schools. There are virtually no single-sex Catholic girls secondary schools which are not convent schools. The two girls schools selected for this study are both run by French teaching orders. The corresponding dearth of secondary schools for boys was the result of the smaller numbers of male religious orders engaged in teaching; the concentration of the secular clergy on pastoral work; and the fact that the main diocesan education effort had been directed towards the provision of elementary schools. One consequence is that many Catholic boys secondary schools date from the 1950s and 1960s. The boys schools of this recent era are also more likely to be lay establishments, with a chaplain attached, than to have been established by a religious teaching order. These particulars apply to both the boys schools selected for this study.

2.3 THE SELECTION OF THE PUPILS AND THE TEACHERS

2.3.1 The Pupils

Fourth-year pupils were selected to be interviewed. At 14-15 years old they fulfilled the criterion of being old enough to explore the same questions as the teachers. Further, the fourth year is not a public examination year. This meant that the likelihood of refusal on the grounds of possible disruption to the pupils studies was minimised. Another potential grouping who fulfilled the criteria were the lower sixth students. This grouping was ruled out as many of the pupils would already have left the school and thus the full range of the school's intake would not be available from which interviewees could be drawn. The potential sensitivity of the issues raised by the questionnaire indicated that the interviewees had to be volunteers. Indeed, the schools would not have collaborated in the research on any other basis. In all four schools the method of selecting the pupils was discussed in advance with the head teacher or a member of staff detailed to assist me. In each case the procedures which he or she suggested were followed.

The aim was to obtain approximately 20 pupils of Irish descent in each school. In all the schools the method of selection involved talking directly to the pupils about the research and asking them, if they were of Irish descent, to volunteer to be interviewed. The approach to the pupils varied between London and Liverpool. Quite independently both schools in London chose one method and both schools in Liverpool another. In London the method of selection proposed by the school involved a twofold process: speaking to the entire fourth year at their weekly assembly and writing a letter explaining the research. Any pupil interested in volunteering took the letter home to gain his or her parents' assent to the interview's taking place. In the Liverpool schools it was proposed that the researcher should speak to individual fourth-year classes in their form period. The fourth-year forms in both Liverpool schools were mixed ability groupings. In each school three fourth forms were addressed and the pupils who volunteered were selected on a first come, first served basis. There was no suggestion that parental assent was required.

The means of engaging interest and support for the research varied between the two cities. This difference in approach was based on the contrasting history and experience of the Irish in each location. In Liverpool, the importance of that city to any research on the Irish in Britain was emphasised. In London the emphasis was placed on the neglect of any substantial sociological research about the Irish in Britain and the importance of rectifying this omission. In each city the researcher's own Irish Catholic connections and personal reasons for undertaking the study were also given. In London the procedure followed produced just short of the requisite number of volunteers in the boys school. However, in the girls school the method of selection produced substantially fewer than the number required. In both the Liverpool schools the method of selection produced more than the necessary number of volunteers to be interviewed. The lower response rate in London will be discussed later.

2.3.2 The Teachers

There were three main aims in interviewing a small number of staff in each school: to produce some account of the past practices of Catholic schools; and to compare the responses of the teachers with those of the pupils on the current practices of Catholic schools; to explore the national identity of a small sample of adult teachers of Irish descent. It was hoped that the first aim would be realised if a teacher was of Irish descent and was teaching in a Catholic school, for then there was a high likelihood that he or she would have attended a Catholic school as a child. To facilitate the second aim, the intention was to select the teachers for interview predominantly from those departments most likely to feature teaching on Ireland, if such teaching was included in the school curriculum. The departments were History, English, Social Studies/Sociology, Humanities and Religious Education. In all schools the interest, as with the pupils, was in volunteers either born in Ireland or of Irish descent. The aim was to interview approximately ten members of staff in each school.

In London the method of selecting the teachers varied. In the girls school the head teacher suggested that the staff be addressed at one of their morning breaks. This took place with an introduction from the head. The research was explained in a manner similar to that used for the London pupils. The researcher's experience of teaching in Catholic schools was emphasised. Some teachers immediately volunteered and frequently suggested other potential interviewees who were not present at the meeting. On a further visit to the school these contacts were followed up and other teachers came forward who were not present on the previous occasion. In the boys school in London the head teacher assigned one of the deputy heads to oversee all the organisational aspects of the research. The deputy head took full details of the types of interviews required and then gave the names of members of staff he thought would be interested. In turn these teachers suggested other members of staff who fitted the criteria and who might be willing to be interviewed. Over the course of three visits the various teachers suggested were contacted and spoken to individually about

the research. Sufficient volunteers were obtained in both the London schools.

In both the Liverpool schools the method of selecting the teachers to be interviewed was similar. In each case the Head of Humanities was assigned to facilitate the research and in both schools suggested appropriate members of staff who might be willing to be interviewed. As had happened in the London schools, as individual teachers were spoken to they suggested others who might agree to be interviewed. The research was explained to each teacher separately, with a similar emphasis as given to the Liverpool pupils. In this way sufficient volunteers amongst the staff were obtained in both Liverpool schools. It is interesting that no teacher, in any of the four schools, who was directly approached about taking part in the research refused to be involved. The effect of the selection of the teachers on the findings will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

3. JUSTIFICATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The structure of the questionnaire was specifically designed to test the hypotheses suggested by the historical material presented in the earlier chapters. Different sections of the questionnaire explore different facets of the hypotheses. The dimensions of the hypotheses will be explored across a range of questions in the different sections of the interview which now follow:

Section A: Biographical data
Section B: Catholicism and Catholic schooling
Section C: The Irish in Britain
Section D: Northern Ireland
Section E: Identity

A general overview of the aims of each section of the questionnaire is presented here and a detailed justification of the different groups of questions. The emphasis throughout is upon the relationship between the empirical study and the foregoing historical analysis.

3.2 SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Questions:

1. Date of birth

2. Birthplace of: yourself
   your parents
   your grandparents

3. Occupation of your parents: mother
   father

4. Details of your education:
   (that is, schools, college attended etc.)

Certain biographical details were a necessary prerequisite for the type of analysis it was hoped the questionnaire would make possible. This section was designed to establish the nationality and class background of the respondents. It would also reveal the generation of people of Irish descent born in Britain. As the interviews were taking place in Catholic schools it was considered unnecessary to include a question on religion. A theme which emerged throughout the historical investigation is that the Irish in the 19th century were subject to a threefold classification of class, religion and nationality. It will be possible to relate the questionnaire responses to an account of the interviewees in terms of their class and national or generation background. The date of birth question was included in order to estimate when the staff attended school and thus facilitate an account of the past practices of Catholic schools. Question

4 was designed to establish the uniformity or otherwise of the educational experience of both the teachers and pupils.

3.3 SECTION B: CATHOLICISM AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLING

Questions:

5. Do you think there is anything special or distinctive about Catholic schools?

6. What does being a Catholic mean to you?

7. Would you say that Catholicism and Irishness are automatically associated together or not in this country?

8. Have you ever been taught anything on Ireland?

9. If yes, what were you taught?

10. Have you been taught anything about the Irish in Britain?

11. Do you think more should be taught about Ireland in schools in this country?

12. Would it be a good idea to introduce Ireland into existing subjects or have a separate subject as an option: Irish Studies?

13. Do you think Catholic schools have any special responsibility to teach about Ireland?

This section of the interview contains questions about Catholicism and Catholic schooling. It is concerned with the religious dimension of the experience of the Irish in Britain. There are three groups of questions in this section. Questions 5, 6 and 7 are intended to explore the basis of the relationship between Catholic schools and pupils and teachers of Irish

descent. The historical study highlighted that one of the means by which the English Catholic Church implemented the aim of incorporation was by forging a relationship with its Irish congregation through the building of Catholic schools and the provision of elementary education for their children. The expectation was that the responses to these three questions would produce evidence of the perceived nature of this relationship, and that it would be possible to relate any variations in the responses to the salient characteristics of the pupils in London and Liverpool and the teachers.

Questions 8, 9 and 10 are concerned with the absence or presence of an Irish dimension in the curriculum of this selection of Catholic schools. One of the main propositions argued in part one of the thesis is that Catholic schooling achieved its objectives with respect to its predominantly working-class pupils of Irish descent by ensuring that the curriculum was uncontroversial and conformed entirely with that pertaining elsewhere. Thus teaching about Ireland was at least as unlikely in Catholic schools as in other state schools. As already demonstrated, although Catholic education authorities were under injunctions to do this in return for grant aid, they had their own reasons for following this course.

The final group in this section of the interview, questions 11, 12 and 13, are intended to explore the invisibility hypothesis. First, by attempting to discover whether there is a hidden demand for teaching about Ireland, and second, by the examination of the extent to which a critique of Catholic schools is offered or the degree to which the curriculum is accepted. The hypotheses which inform this section of questions are derived from the exposition in part one of the thesis referring to the possible consequences of Catholic schooling for the Irish in Britain. It was argued that the incorporatist aim of Catholic education in certain circumstances resulted in the denationalising of the Irish in Britain. Despite the possession by the Catholic Church in the 19th century of specific objectives antipathetical to the national interests of the Irish in Britain, this educational strategy was ensured a measure of success. These questions explore the views of the pupils and teachers about Ireland

in the context of Catholic education.

3.4 SECTION C: THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

Questions:

14. Do you notice Irish jokes around much?

15. What do you think of them?

16. What do you think most Irish people think of the jokes?

17. How would you know someone was Irish when you meet them?

18. How do you think the Irish are treated in this country?

19. Have you seen or heard anything directed against the Irish which you objected to?

20. Have you seen or heard anything which gives you a positive image of the Irish?

21. Do you think the Irish have mixed in well here or not?

This section of the interview examines further aspects of the process of incorporation for the Irish in Britain. It focuses particularly on the social and cultural aspects of the experience of the Irish in this country. There are two groups of questions. Questions 14, 15 and 16 are concerned with reactions to anti-Irish jokes. At the time of this research there was a hotly contested debate amongst the Irish in Britain (for example, in the columns of The Irish Post) about whether these jokes are racist. In this debate those who think the jokes are racist consider that many Irish people do not reveal their true feelings about the jokes. They are effectively silenced by the jokes. Others who disagree with this view considered the jokes to be 'just jokes', and not to be taken seriously. In part one of

the thesis the significance of anti-Irish cartoons were described, as examples of the autonomous generation of anti-Irish hostility separate from anti-Catholicism. The images of stupidity and violence which the Stage Irishman and the cartoons relayed were generated by the colonial relationship between Britain and Ireland. They constituted images of the Irish as a race. The current jokes all revolve around the notion of the Irish as an inherently stupid people. The three questions about Irish jokes are designed to explore what this sample of people of Irish descent think about the jokes and the possible significance of the jokes as a means of silencing the Irish in Britain.

The second group of questions enquire about the visibility and invisibility of the Irish in Britain. In the first part of the thesis it was argued that the Irish in Britain constitututed a highly visible minority in the 19th century. The hypothesis is that the Irish have remained visible in detrimental ways, that is, as a violent and stupid people. But the process of incorporation since then has rendered the Irish invisible as a group. The intention of questions 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 is to discover how the pupils and teachers see the social positioning of the Irish in Britain.

3.5 SECTION D: NORTHERN IRELAND

Questions:

22. What impression do you think people in this country get of the Irish from the media coverage of Northern Ireland?

23. What do you see as the main causes of what is happening in Northern Ireland?

24. What do you think should happen in Northern Ireland?

For the pupils:

25. Have you been taught anything about Northern Ireland?

26. Do you discuss Northern Ireland with friends at school?

27. Do you discuss Northern Ireland outside school?

For the teachers:

25. Have you ever taught anything about Northern Ireland at school?

26. Do you discuss Northern Ireland in the staff room?

27. Do you discuss Northern Ireland outside school?

This section of the interview concentrates on questions about Northern Ireland. In part one of the thesis it is argued that the Irish in Britain were subject to strategies of incorporation in the 19th century, not only because they constituted an essential group of labour migrants, but also because of the political threat they were perceived to pose. A prime characteristic of the incorporatist strategies, therefore, was the attempt to denationalise the Irish in Britain. The aim in this section is to discover whether the political dimension of incorporation continues to be significant.

Questions 22, 23 and 24 explore what the respondents think about Northern Ireland and how they perceive the impact of the media coverage of events in the North. It is hoped these questions will reveal the context in which the pupils and teachers view Northern Ireland and their perception of received notions about Northern Ireland in this country; while questions 25, 26 and 27 investigate whether Northern Ireland is a taboo subject in the Catholic schools selected for the study and the extent of the respondents' interest in Northern Ireland. The expectation is that, if the incorporation of the Irish in Britain remains part of the objective of Catholic schooling then Northern Ireland will be a taboo subject in the

schools. It will be important to discover if there is evidence of the interviewees' interest in events in the North.

3.6 SECTION E : IDENTITY

Questions:

28. Which of the following terms would you use to describe yourself?

British
Irish
English
Of Irish descent
Londoner
Liverpudlian
Other category

29. What does this identity(ies) mean to you?

30. How would other members of your family see themselves?

31. Have you: been on holiday to Ireland?

32. Have you been involved in any Irish activities, for example, Irish dancing, Irish music or any others?

Questions 28 and 29 on identity are designed to explore the positioning of the individual in terms of a range of national and local identities. The hypothesis here is that the identity of the individual of Irish descent is crucial for understanding variations in the impact of the incorporatist policies described in part one of the thesis. A central argument here is that the successful incorporation of the Irish would involve their absorption under the generic umbrella of 'British' nationality. The aim is to explore the context in which this absorption takes place by relating the individuals' generation, social class and

cultural practices to their selected national identity. Of equal interest here is an investigation of the conditions under which Irish identities are maintained amongst those of Irish descent. Local identities are included because the expectation is that in Liverpool local identity is important and represents the basis upon which the Irish have been incorporated in that city.

In questions 30, 31 and 32 the aim is to explore part of the context in which the identity of the individual of Irish descent may have been formed. The respondents are asked about the identities of their close family members. Although their replies may only be speculation, it was anticipated that this question would yield information of relevance for establishing the context in which the interviewees perceived themselves as having been reared. The question about holidaying in Ireland is included because the researcher knew from personal experience that holidays in Ireland can be a crucial means by which contact and identification with Ireland are maintained. The final question is concerned to discover whether the interviewee is or has been involved in any Irish cultural activities in this country. It was expected that people of Irish descent involved in such activities are more likely to select an Irish identity.

4. ADMINISTRATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

4.1 THE PILOT STUDY : PUPILS

4.1.1 The Planning and Implementation of the Pilot Study

The questionnaire was to form the basis of a structured interview. After the questionnaire was drawn up it was considered advisable to test it in a pilot study. The pilot was necessary to establish:

1. Whether the format of the questionnaire worked, for example, the order of the sections

2. Whether the language of the questions was both clear and appropriate to the purpose outlined

3. The most appropriate means of recording the data

4. The most effective approach to ensure the time spent interviewing was as productive as possible

5. Whether the questions required modification or new questions were needed

It was decided to approach the school the researcher used to teach in. The school is in London, one of the two cities chosen for the research. It is a girls comprehensive school run by a French Catholic teaching order. The school chosen for the pilot study is, therefore, similar to the two girls schools in the sample. It would have been a lengthy process to obtain a boys school to be part of the pilot. In retrospect, if there had been enough time it would still have been preferable to have piloted the questionnaire in a boys school.

The pilot school was visited and the purpose of the empirical research, and of the pilot study in particular, was explained to the head teacher. Permission was readily given to talk to fourth-year pupils and to ask them to volunteer to be interviewed. However, the head decided it would be preferable if a letter was sent home with any volunteer to ensure that their parents had no objection. This decision foreshadowed what would be the response of each of the London schools in the sample. The opportunity to speak to a class of fourth-year pupils facilitated the preparation of the talk given to the pupils and teachers in the London schools in the sample. Only one day was available for interviewing. Eight pupils were selected from those who volunteered, on a first come, first served basis.

4.1.2 The Findings of the Pilot Study

Each of the interviews in the pilot study was preceded by asking the interviewee whether she would mind the interview being tape recorded. The alternative was for the researcher to take notes of all that the respondent said. In every case the interviewee opted for the researcher to take notes. It had been suspected that this might be the response because of the subject matter of the questionnaire. It may also have been due to a general disinclination to be taped. In the event the interviews proceeded with the researcher taking notes. The pilot study, therefore, afforded an opportunity to become skilled in writing down the entire response of an interviewee.

This method of recording the data proved advantageous in two respects. First, it avoided the lengthy and expensive process of transcribing the interviews after the period of the fieldwork was completed. A full and accurate record would already be to hand. Second, the taking of notes contributed to establishing an atmosphere conducive to the relaxation of the person being interviewed. Taking notes ensured that the researcher was not looking at the interviewee all the time. The researcher was active during the interview, writing and raising and lowering her head. This forestalled the development of a situation where everything was focused on the interviewee. He or she also had something to look at and time to think.

The pilot study also facilitated becoming very familiar with the questionnaire. This in turn contributed to the smooth flow of the interviews, making the tone and pace more conversational. A relaxed atmosphere in the interviews was considered important because the interviews would be taking place in school under a time constraint. In addition, it was very unlikely that the respondents had been interviewed on this subject prior to this and the interview involved questions on identity, which essentially asked 'who are you?'. For all these reasons much depended on how the interviews were conducted.

The pilot study uncovered another technique which facilitated the interviews. It was decided to give the questions which comprised section A on a sheet of paper to the interviewee, to be filled in at the beginning of the interview. This created a short pause after the introductions for both the interviewer and interviewee to collect themselves and focus on the task in hand. It also meant that there was one section fewer of the questions to be asked orally. The consequence of this decision was that section B of the questionnaire, 'Catholicism and Catholic schooling', formed the first part of the interview. The questions about Catholicism and Catholic schooling are undoubtedly complex questions with which to commence the interview. However, the experience of the pilot study demonstrated that this could be offset by the mode in which the interview was conducted. Sections C, D and E are all ordered so that the more sensitive questions come later in the interview. Section B has the advantage of being about school and Catholicism, perhaps topics to be expected in a Catholic school.

There were no specific problems with the language of the questions. Each interviewee was asked each question as worded in the questionnaire. However, the questions were frequently repeated, giving the respondents time to think. On repetition the wording of the questions was often varied, usually utilising language the interviewee had already used in response to other questions. A major concern of the pilot study was the length of the interviews. The experience was that one lesson period of 35-40 minutes' duration would, on average, be sufficient to accomplish the interviews with the pupils. It would probably have been difficult to have had the pupils released from lessons for a longer period.

4.2 THE PILOT STUDY: ADULTS

Twelve adults were interviewed in this part of the pilot study. The main purpose of these interviews was to obtain further practice at interviewing and to test the format of the interview and the questions on a small group of teachers. These interviews also afforded the opportunity to include people from Liverpool in the pilot study. The people interviewed were: a small group of staff from the pilot study school; three teachers at

a Catholic school in north London, all of whom were born in Liverpool; and friends and relatives of the researcher, living in Liverpool, all of whom were of Irish descent and involved in education.

The findings of the interviews with the adult sample in the pilot study indicated that the interviews with the adults would take longer than those with the pupils. There were more nuances in the answers of the adults and more wariness was registered, especially in response to section C, 'The Irish in Britain', and section D, 'Northern Ireland'. Most importantly, the tenor of the responses of the people born in Liverpool was different from that of the others in the pilot study. This confirmed at an early stage the expected differences between the two cities. This suggested that the questionnaire would be able to reveal differences.

The findings of the pilot study proved very valuable for the administration of the questionnaire in the survey schools. Although the methods of selecting the schools and the interviewees varied between London and Liverpool, the manner of conducting the structured interviews based on the questionnaire did not. The procedures followed in each case were those derived from the experimental period of the pilot study. The time period, as expected, proved sufficient with the vast majority of the pupils, but was frequently overrun by the staff. Further meetings were always arranged with individual teachers to complete their interview.

5. RATIONALE OF THE USE OF THE STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

The absence of research about the education of the Irish in Britain and the acute sensitivity of events in Northern Ireland indicated that the interviewer should be able to gain the confidence of the interviewees. It was hoped that this would be facilitated by the characteristics of the interviewer, who was of Irish descent and who had experience of Catholic schooling both as a pupil and teacher. In the case of the staff it was hoped the common ground would be even more apparent.

It was, therefore, decided that written replies to a questionnaire would not suffice for this research. The written form would not provide the opportunity to explain questions and to create confidence in the interviewee. Written replies also involve additional problems of the pupils' motivation to write and of their writing competence. In addition, the pupils would not necessarily answer all the questions. However, the advantage of written replies to a questionnaire is that it affords the respondent privacy and avoids the affirmation an interviewee may receive from the interviewer if he or she agrees with the person being interviewed. For these reasons the question on identity at the begining of section E was written on a card and handed to the interviewee. This gave the respondents the opportunity to consider the alternatives in silence, with no intervention from the interviewer.

The interviews were structured. This ensured that each interviewee was presented with the same format, that is, the same topics in the same order and formulation. Variations in the sequence of questions might have affected what each respondent offered in their answers. There were occasions when it was necessary to supplement this procedure by repeating questions in a different way. When this was done every attempt was made to utilise the respondent's own formulations. The objections to this approach are that the interviewee can be imprisoned by the interviewer's questions and by the interrogative form of the relationship with the interviewer. It may well be that unstructured interviews can give rise to more elaborate responses, but each individual interview might range over very different topics or aspects of the investigation and, as a consequence, the analysis of the material would be more difficult.

The questions asked in the empirical study were often open and presented dilemmas. However, the type of questions was not entirely strange, as the data will demonstrate. The most important aspect of unstructured interviews is that time be available for them to take their course. Structured interviews enabled the most productive use of the time available for this part of the thesis. It was unlikely that the schools would want pupils to be away from lessons for any extended period. Given the time constraints, structured interviews do limit the ground that can be

covered. But they have the undoubted advantage that they ensure a certain range of questions is completed with all respondents.

6. LIMITATIONS OF THE SAMPLE AND DESIGN

6.1 SELECTION OF AREAS

The areas selected are expected to reveal both sharp contrasts and similarities. It could be argued that it would have been useful to have included a third area in which the expected contrasts would have been less strong. For example, Manchester, where the local identity although strong is not as significant as the Liverpudlian identity in Liverpool. However, the inclusion of a third area was not possible within the logistics of this research.

6 2 INTERVIEWER BIAS

There are two aspects of possible sources of bias. The first arises from the limitations of the pilot sample, which was comprised wholly of girls. As a consequence the possible benefits resulting from interviewing boys was unfortunately forgone. For example, it is possible that interviewing boys at the pilot stage might have led to the inclusion of a question about football in the questionnaire. A question about football might have revealed otherwise undiscovered information about the national identity of boys of Irish descent.

The second source of bias may have arisen from the fact that all interviewees knew that the researcher was of Irish descent and had taught in Catholic schools. It is difficult to predict the interviewer effect, as it may have tempered the views of the respondents in certain sections of the questionnaire. Here the issue would have been whether the interviewer was defined as more Irish than Catholic or more Catholic than Irish, which is of course the crucial problem of the thesis. It may well be that if the

respondents had not all been told then the bias would have been greater. It will be shown that the London sample of pupils and teachers, and the Liverpool sample of teachers only, in their response to the questionnaire included that they recognised Irish people by their physical appearance and 'look'. It may well be that the relative ease of obtaining schools to carry out the research and the assistance readily given by the schools was because the researcher was known to be a Catholic teacher, born in Liverpool and of Irish descent.

6.3 SELECTION BIAS

6.3.1 Pupils

There are here two sources of bias. First, the fact is that the pupils (and for that matter the teachers) were volunteers. The reason for the pupils (and the teachers) joining the sample is not known. It may be that the effect of the principle of selection is either to produce a more homogenous group or even possibly a group containing those who were very positive towards the issue and those who were more negative. It is not possible to predict the effect of the bias in this case. Second, the response rate in London among the pupils was lower than in Liverpool. It will be rememmbered that in London both schools required parental permission for the pupils to be interviewed and this no doubt contributed to the low response rate. It should be noted that it was the schools' decision (forshadowed in a similar decision by the pilot study school) that parental permission was required and this undoubtedly indicates the schools' view of the sensitivity of the issue. It would be expected that the London sample would be more homogenous and, as a consequence, there would be less variation within this sample and stronger differences on some questions between the two cities. The hypotheses also included the expectation of similarity between the two areas and if this was not found (for example, on questions about the curriculum) the thesis would be undermined. Thus despite the stronger selection principle in London there should still be similarities between the two cities.

6.3.2 Teachers

There are two sources of bias here, one of which has been discussed earlier (volunteers). The second source of bias arises out of the procedures for selection of the volunteers. As no teacher who was asked refused to participate, the procedures of selection are important. In one school all the teachers in the staffroom were addressed and volunteers came forward. In all other schools a senior member of staff was assigned to facilitate the research and introduce the researcher to possible interviewees. The senior member of staff introduced the researcher to two or three teachers who then suggested other teachers, none of whom refused. Clearly all staff in the sample are likely to be concerned about the issues of the research but this does not mean that their views will be homogenous.

It may well be that the findings will throw some light on the various sources of bias. As the sub-samples are small, both of pupils and teachers, then the findings are necessarily controversial. The size of the sub-samples (both of teachers and of pupils) does not permit elaborate statistical treatment of interactions between variables. The Chi-square test was used for testing the statistically significant difference between crucial variables.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FINDINGS: IDENTITY

1. INTRODUCTION

A major aim of the empirical study was to explore the consequences of the strategies of incorporation for the identity of the Irish in Britain. The intention was to examine the degree to which class, religion and national identity still significantly determine the experience of being Irish in Britain. In this chapter an analysis will be made of the social basis of the identity of the staff and pupils interviewed in selected schools in London and Liverpool. The expectation was that their identities would be mediated by generation, region and social class. The analysis is based on the respondents' answers to questions in sections A and E of the questionnaire. Questions in section A were designed to discover what were some of the significant features of the family background of each respondent that might have some bearing on their identity. Questions in section E asked the respondents to define their identity and the meaning this had for them. In this chapter a typology of identities for the sample will be described, based on the evidence drawn from the interviews.

Section A

1. Date of birth

2. The birthplace of: yourself
   your parents
   your grandparents

3. Occupation of your parents: mother
   father

4. Details of your education:

Section E

28. Which of the following terms would you use to describe yourself?

British
Irish
English
Of Irish descent
Londoner
Liverpudlian
Other category

29. What does this identity(ies) mean to you?

30. How would other members of your family see themselves?

31. Have you been on holiday to Ireland?

32. Have you been involved in any Irish activities, for example, Irish dancing, Irish music or any others?

2. THE PUPILS

2.1 IDENTITY

In this thesis identity is posited as critical for understanding the impact of and response to incorporatist policies. The pupils interviewed were all born in Britain of Irish descent. The hypothesis is that their national identity cannot be assumed in this context. Four categories were used to classify the pupils' responses as to their identity. These were:

1. Irish
2. Of Irish descent
3. Regional identity: Londoner or Liverpudlian
4. British/English

The selection of 'Irish' or 'of Irish descent' indicates that their families' Irish origins are of primary significance for the respondent. Whilst for the respondents who select 'British' or 'English', the national identity of the country in which they were born is uppermost. Alternatively, those who select a regional identity as primary are eschewing national identity altogether.

TABLE 1

PUPILS: CHOICE OF IDENTITY

Region	Identity			
	IRISH	IR DES	REG ID	BR/ENG
LONDON (26)	35%(9)	46%(12)	7.5%(2)	11.5%(3)
LIVERPOOL (40)	2.5%(1)	10%(4)	65%(26)	22.5%(9)
TOTAL SAMPLE (66)	15%(10)	25%(16)	42%(28)	18%(12)

Amongst the London pupils, all of whom were born in Britain, 81% (21) named either 'Irish' or 'Of Irish descent' as their primary identity (see table 1), thus privileging an alternative national identity to the one of the country they were born in. In Liverpool by contrast only 12.5% chose an Irish identity as primary; this difference between the two samples was

statistically significant at the .001 level. On the other hand, 65% of the Liverpool sample perceived themselves to be Liverpudlians before all else, thus privileging the regional identity over a national one. In London only 7.5% of the pupils selected a regional identity as primary; this difference between the two samples was also significant at the .001 level. These findings are important for this study for two reasons. First, they illustrate that Irish identity is of more immediate importance for the children of the recent migrants. Second, they reveal that, if the sample is taken as a whole, only 18% of the pupils (that is, 12 out of 66) selected the national identity of the country they were born in as their primary identity: this was because of the dominance of Irish identity in London and of regional identity in Liverpool.

2.2 THE MEANING OF IDENTITY

It is useful to examine what the pupils understood in selecting their identity and what it meant to them. This account is being given here because it will provide a more detailed picture of the identities of the pupils and thus give a richer context in which to review their responses to the questions on Catholic schooling, the experiences of the Irish in Britain and Northern Ireland. No claim is being made, due to the small size of the sample, that this represents a definitive account of the meaning of identity for young people of Irish descent. However, it is considered that the material suggests many productive avenues for future research in this area: the construction, formulation and contestation of identity for those of an Irish Catholic background in Britain.

When asked what was the significance or importance of their selected identity, a majority of the pupils in London and Liverpool responded in terms of the source of that identity. Because of the small numbers involved, most attention was given to an analysis of the core group in each sample, that is the 21 pupils (out of 26) in London who chose either 'Irish' or 'Of Irish descent' as their identity, and the 26 pupils (out of 40) in Liverpool who chose 'Liverpudlian' as their identity. In examining the replies as to what formed the sources of identity it became immediately

apparent that there was a dichotomy between the London and Liverpool pupils. In London the source most often made reference to in relation to Irish identity was the family: 71% of the pupils in London who selected an Irish identity (that is 15 out of 21) referred to their family being central to this identity. In contrast, in Liverpool it is the city itself which is cited by 73% of the pupils (that is 19 out of 26) who claim Liverpudlianism as their primary identity as the basis of that identity. Although many record that the identity of their parents is also Liverpudlian, not one of the pupils interviewed refers to their parents being Liverpudlian as the reason why they chose their identity.

For the London sample the comments of the pupils in explaining the relationship between family and identity suggested the synonymity of their family life and their Irishness. Frequent references were made to being 'brought up' to being Irish. Some of the pupils expanded on this:

> I was born in England but I feel more over towards the Irish side. I was brought up the Irish way, the Irish tend to be more relaxed and care about family more, the English are not so caring of their family.

> I was born here, but gone to Ireland a lot, everyone in my family was born in Ireland, so that's what I am - I'd represent Ireland in sport if I had a chance.

> I'm Irish because my parents are Irish and my mum keeps telling me I am - I'm proud of being Irish, of being accepted in Ireland and all my family is so I want to be the same.

Although the overwhelming connection that was made by the London pupils was between the family and the meaning of identity, a substantial minority (42%, that is 11 out of 26 pupils) made reference to thoughts and feelings about Ireland in explaining the importance of their Irish identity. Usually the reference was to what they had observed on visits to Ireland in

terms either of the lifestyle they associated with the country or the characteristics of Irish people. The following represent typical comments:

> I've been reared into being Irish - people are more open over there and the atmosphere and people is why I like it, friendly.

> I'm Irish, I'm not really fond of the English and I like Irish people. The English aren't really liked by other nations, whereas if you call yourself Irish, they think 'he's honest' and that.

> My identity means 'I am Irish ' - I love the place really, as something within me says it, it's my heritage, it's me.

> It's because my parents are Irish and I like Ireland, the peace and quiet, like the country as well.

It seems, therefore, that for the majority of London pupils who opted for an Irish identity this is reinforced in the home and by family visits to Ireland, and does not necessarily rely on the representations of any other institutions.

As already noted, for the Liverpudlians in the Liverpool sample it is the city which is the source of identification and pride. The responses in the main either involve a catalogue of what is good about the city or an explanation of why Liverpool is better than the image it has. The comments reveal that the pride in being from Liverpool is based on a conviction that the city is different from elsewhere. Some excerpts from the interviews will expand on these points:

> I was born here: the main thing is the language we speak and of course the Beatles, all the good things.
>
> Being Liverpudlian is special, of any big city I'd choose Liverpool, people always seem to like us.
>
> Being a Scouser is different - I know people who've been all over the world and always say 'I'm from Liverpool' or from Scotty Road, it's known all over. It's because famous people come from round here. I feel more proud of saying I'm a Scouser than British.
>
> Liverpool is different, you hear about Toxteth and and the lack of jobs and you'd think it was the last place you'd want to live - but in fact it's not that bad and you like it if you live here.
>
> Liverpool is different - I've always said it, it's natural, just something special. I'm very proud of coming from Liverpool, if I was in Spain I would say I was a Scouser rather than English.

A small minority of those whose primary identity was Liverpudlian linked this to being proud of being British. The example which was quoted most often to illustrate what this meant to them was the Falklands War:

> I'm British and feel proud of it, quite glad they fought for the Falklands as had to make an example of them because otherwise other countries would've taken advantage of us.
>
> Proud of being English, for example in the Falklands - proud of the army going over and taking islands back.

Similarly, a small minority of those whose primary identity was Liverpudlian linked this to being proud of their Irish antecedents. The following example is typical:

> Liverpool's special because of the accent and everyone knows it. But I'm also half Irish because of my dad - I'd say English on a form because this is where I live but if I was in Ireland I'd say Irish.

These comments seem to suggest that a Liverpudlian identity can encompass allegiance to either Irish antecedents or to being British, although for all the pupils quoted it is coming from Liverpool which is of primary importance.

On one point concerning identity both the London and Liverpool samples were in accord: 50% of the former (that is 13 out of 26) and 47.5% (that is 19 out of 40) of the latter thought that there were problems attached to being of Irish descent in Britain. The samples differed to some extent on what would constitute these problems. In London the aspect most often referred to was the decision about what nationality to opt for when filling in a form. The following are examples of what was said in this context:

> It would depend on the person whether I would put Irish on a form, not if they looked like they didn't like Irish people.

> I'm of Irish descent - on a form, it would depend on the job. For a pilot I'd put Irish, but for a carpenter English because English more taken on than Irish people in that sort of job.

> There are difficulties - sometimes when applying for a job if say parents are Irish they degrade you a bit, I'd put English on a form.

> It's better to put English on a form but I'd rather put Irish because of all my background.

The replies of these London pupils indicate that being of Irish descent is for them problematic because of what is expected to be the hostile reaction of potential employers or public officials. The problem is not that they do not know who they are, rather that they anticipate problems because they are clear on this matter. However, for a small number (4 out of 26) of the London pupils what was problematic was the sense of 'being a mixture'. This sentiment is exemplified by the following statements:

> I'm not British or English - when I'm over there I'm a Londoner, I'm not really Irish because I wasn't born there, though would like to be, would like an Irish passport. It's almost impossible here to be English and Irish - here you're Irish when you go to the functions - but always there's a thing about being from London, even if you hate it there's something you would miss - at times I hate it.

> It's hard being of Irish descent because you're a cross between things, for example, when talking about Northern Ireland.

For some of the London pupils who selected being of Irish descent as their primary identity the consequence, therefore, was feeling torn between different allegiances.

The Liverpool pupils who viewed being of Irish descent as a problem were fairly evenly divided between those who thought this was the case because of the overt hostility to the Irish in Liverpool and those who thought what would be problematic would be being split between two identities. In relation to hostility what were referred to most often were the activities of the Orange Lodge and the reactions people might encounter at school:

> It's not necessarily easy if Irish or mixed because a lot of Liverpool lads don't like foreigners (woolybacks) and could turn on you.
>
> Irish mixed in in Liverpool but there's bad feeling over marches, Lodge still come out when people go to mass.
>
> There are problems about the lodge - I don't like it when they come round - up on Netherfield Road they had all lillies at the windows when the lodge come out.
>
> There'd be problems if mixed because you'd want to keep family ties going if parents Irish and at junior school might make fun of them and it makes a kid say 'I'm English'.

On feeling split these Liverpool pupils saw the problems residing in wanting to be the same as your parents while at the same time being different bacause of being born in Liverpool:

> There'd be problems if mixed - parents would try and teach the child about Ireland, whereas they might want to be English.
>
> Problems if of Irish descent - when you say 'what are you?', they say English but you say you're not because you're parents are Irish.
>
> If I was split - at home I'd say I was Irish, but with friends be British, be a split personality.

For these Liverpool pupils the problems of being of Irish descent were clearly perceived as problems for the second generation: their expectation

seemed to be that after that anyone in Liverpool would be a Liverpudlian. In fact, in contrast to the pupils quoted above, many in Liverpool asserted their conviction that in Liverpool in particular the Irish had 'mixed in': 47.5% (19 out of 40) specifically mentioned that there were no problems for the Irish in Liverpool. Below are some typical comments:

> Most of the Irish become Liverpudlians, all hostility gone now.

> The Irish have mixed in well because the Irish mix in anywhere - if someone starts talking to them they're easy going and all right for a laugh.

> Easy to be both Irish and English in Liverpool, especially if talk Scouse.

For many in the London sample also, being of Irish descent gave rise to no commentary about problems concerning the expression of their Irishness These were the pupils who, for example, envisaged no difficulty in stating their identity on a form.

This section of the chapter has been concerned to provide an indication of the range of identities which the pupils in each city selected and to give an account of what these identities meant to them. So far, what has been established is that the dominant identity in London is an Irish one and in Liverpool it is to be a Liverpudlian. In addition, in London there are reasonable grounds for suggesting that the family is the crucial institution for the generation of this Irish identity. However, it remains to examine what are the factors which determine which identity grouping an individual of Irish descent chooses in each city. It is the intention below to explore the responses to this set of questions further by examining the identity of the pupils in relation to their generation, social class and cultural practices.

2.3 GENERATION

Four categories were used to classify the samples according to generation. These were:

1. Born in Ireland
2. Parents born in Ireland
3. Grandparents born in Ireland
4. Great-Grandparents+ born in Ireland

An explicit aim of the study was to compare pupils of Irish descent living in areas representing different phases of Irish migration to Britain. It was necessary to be able to distinguish separate generations of Irish descent in order to test whether assumptions of the inevitability of assimilation with each generation are well grounded. Thus the first generation are those born in Ireland, the second generation are those who have at least one parent born in Ireland, and so on. It was considered that from the fourth generation onwards (ie. great-grandparents born in Ireland) the generations could be grouped together.

TABLE 2

PUPILS: GENERATION DISTRIBUTION

Region	Generation			
	1	2	3	4
LONDON (26)		100%(26)		
LIVERPOOL (40)		15%(6)	45%(18)	40%(16)

The figures above (see table 2) indicate the restricted generation span of Irish communities in London compared with the dispersed generation pattern of those of Irish descent in Liverpool. This validates the principles of selection by which these two areas were chosen as representative of different phases of Irish migration, in order to facilitate the type of comparative analysis envisaged here. As hoped, comparing the London sample with the Liverpool sample will entail comparing samples based on different generation characteristics.

TABLE 3

PUPILS: DISTRIBUTION OF IDENTITY BY GENERATION

Generation	Identity			
	IRISH	IR DES	REG ID	BR/ENG
LONDON (26)				
2 (26)	35%(9)	46%(12)	7.5%(2)	11.5%(3)
LIVERPOOL (40)				
2 (6)		33.3%(2)	66.6%(5)	
3 (18)	5.5%(1)	5.5%(1)	61%(11)	28%(5)
4 (16)		6%(1)	69%(11)	25%(4)

In London the generation breakdown of identity is as given for the London sample as a whole; this is because all the pupils are of the same generation. In Liverpool the largest group in each generation are those claiming Liverpudlianism as their dominant identity. This further

emphasises the dominance of this identity grouping for the Liverpool sample. It will be recalled that those choosing this regional identity formed 65% of all the pupils in Liverpool. Bearing in mind the small size of the sample, and this especially applies to the second generation, this may indicate that generation is not necessarily the most significant factor in explaining any variation in the distribution of identity in the Liverpool sample. It is worthy of note, although little can be made of it because of the small numbers involved, that those claiming an Irish identity in Liverpool are distributed across all three generations, whereas those claiming a British/English identity are in the third and fourth generations.

Taken together the London and Liverpool samples appear to support the idea that with each generation the ties of allegiance to 'Irishness' weaken. However, they also seem to suggest that this is neither an inevitable or homogenous process. On the one hand, it is amongst the second generation in London that Irish identities predominate, and for the third and fourth generation (all in Liverpool) it is a regional identity that is dominant. On the other hand, there is some tentative evidence that there is a spread of identities in both samples for each generation. Thus, although the majority of the London sample chose an Irish identity, 19%(5) selected an alternative identity. In London all of the pupils are of the same generation and this might indicate that different processes are at work in the formation of identity apart from generation. At the very least, the 19% who do not claim 'Irishness' prompt questions as to what they represent. In Liverpool, the fact that in each generation a variety of responses were produced may indicate, despite the small numbers involved, further evidence of the complexity of the process which these responses reflect. In addition, the strength of the regional identity in Liverpool, across all generations, gives credence to the hypothesis that Liverpudlianism acted as a 'mediating identity' between competing national identities. This is a proposition that will be explored further.

2.4 SOCIAL CLASS

Two categories were used to classify the pupils according to social class. These were: the manual or non-manual occupations of their parents. The classification of parents occupations into either manual or non-manual was made using the social scale developed by Goldthorpe and Hope (1974).

TABLE 4

PUPILS: SOCIAL CLASS

Region	Social class		
	MANUAL	NON-MANUAL	UNCLASSIFIED
LONDON (26)	69%(18)	27%(7)	4%(1)
LIVERPOOL (40)	67.5%(27)	20%(8)	12.5%(5)

In both samples the social-class spread is very similar with the manual occupational group forming the overwhelming majority of the parents in each city. This suggests that the traditional Irish areas of 19th-century Liverpool remain predominantly working class and that this is also the case with a major area of Irish settlement in London over the past 40 years. Such evidence, if it was corroborated by studies with larger samples, could indicate that arguments that the Irish have been predominantly assimilated through social mobility might need to be reassessed. In the analysis being attempted here, social mobility is posited as one factor of incorporation, the full significance of which is only understood in the context of the consideration of other factors in this process.

In London there is little difference between the manual and non-manual groups in the proportions selecting either 'Irish' or 'Of Irish descent' as their primary identity (identity groups 1 and 2): 83% of the former and 71% of the latter. Despite the small size of the non-manual sample this indicates that in London, amongst those whose parents were born in Ireland, membership of the middle class does not necessarily weaken attachment to Irish identity. In contrast, in Liverpool dividing the sample according to the occupations of the parents does produce variation, as shown in table 5.

TABLE 5

PUPILS: IDENTITY CHOICE BY SOCIAL CLASS

Social class	Identity		
	IRISH + IR.DES.	REGIONAL	BR/ENG
MANUAL (27)	11%(3)	78%(21)	11%(3)
NON-MANUAL (8)	12.5%(1)	37.5%(3)	50%(4)

What is immediately apparent is that nearly four-fifths of the manual sample opt for a Liverpudlian identity, that is 21 out of 27 pupils. This seems to support the supposition that Liverpudlianism is essentially a working-class identity. The non-manual sample, although very small, does seem to indicate some distribution towards the selection of a British/English identity by this group. Dividing the sample according to social class, therefore, seems to suggest that this might give rise to more differences between the Liverpool pupils than does a division according to generation. For all generations in Liverpool a Liverpudlian identity was predominant, whereas this is not the case when the sample is split by the

occupation of the parents, although this suggestion has to be qualified by the small size of the non-manual sample.

Taking the results from Liverpool and London together it would seem that generation is of most significance for those usually referred to as the 'second generation', that is those whose parents were born in Ireland. Generation remains significant in the Liverpool sample but the suggestion is that it is impossible to transcribe its effects on identity separately from the impact of social class. The evidence that identity overrides any division according to social class amongst the London sample supports the notion that, reproduced in the areas in which Irish migrants settled in the 1950s and 1960s is an identity that differentiates them from the rest of the city's population. In Liverpool, there is a strong regional identity which may well be weakened by social class rather than by the length of time a family has been living there. A further hypothesis might be, therefore, that in Liverpool allegience to a British/English identity as primary becomes more likely with social mobility. This would lend further support to the notion of Liverpudlianism as a mediating identity.

2.5 CULTURAL PRACTICES

2.5.1 Visits to Ireland

The hypothesis that holidays in Ireland can be a crucial means by which contact and identification with Ireland are maintained required a means of identifying those who had never been to Ireland from those who had. It was also potentially useful to distinguish the respondents who had regularly visited Ireland from those who had made one or at the most occasional visits to Ireland. A three-fold classification was therefore produced:

1. Never been to Ireland
2. Occasional visits
3. Regular visits

The immediate contrast that is apparent (see table 6) is that 75% of the Liverpool sample had never been to Ireland while all of the London sample had been to Ireland. This difference between the two samples is statistically significant at the .001 level. The interviews provide evidence that, for the London sample, visiting Ireland on holiday is an important means by which links with 'home' are maintained. This plays an important role in the formation of identity, as many of the pupils indicated when describing what their identity meant to them.

In Liverpool the overwhelming majority had not visited Ireland, despite its comparative proximity. The argument here is that this is not the inevitable consequence of the declining links of the descendents of Irish migrants with Ireland but is due to a complexity of factors. In the United States of America being third or fourth generation Irish would be deemed a positive reason for a journey to Ireland to discover their 'roots' and consequently much of the tourist industry in Ireland is dependent on such visits. There is, therefore, nothing inevitable about the descendents of migrants not visiting the land of their ancestors. Such distancing can be posited as the consequence of a process of incorporation which, in denying the validity of Irishness as an identity, marginalises the maintenance of contacts with Ireland. Although this is not uniformly the situation in Liverpool, it can be hypothesised as in part explaining the absence of visits. In limited support it is interesting to note that the small number of pupils in Liverpool who have visited Ireland more than once are either second generation or claim an Irish identity, and all are working class.

TABLE 6

PUPILS: VISITS TO IRELAND

Region	Visits		
	1	2	3
LONDON (26)		15%(5)	85%(21)
LIVERPOOL (40)	75%(30)	17.5%(7)	7.5%(3)

2.5.2 Irish Social and Cultural Activities

The hypothesis here is that people of Irish descent who are involved in Irish social and cultural activities are more likely to select an Irish identity. The critical factor was considered to be 'being involved' rather than the degree or extent of involvement. Irish social and cultural activities in Britain are relatively insulated. This means that for someone to go to an Irish club to hear Irish music or to have Irish dancing lessons they have to be in contact with, and identify with, an active expression of Irishness or interest in Ireland. Two categories were used to classify the cultural practices of the pupils. These were:

1. No involvement
2. Involved

Within the London sample 69% indicated that they participate in Irish social and cultural activities (see table 7). In Liverpool, the situation is very different with only 30% of the pupils indicating that they

participate. The difference between the two samples on this is statistically significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 7

PUPILS: INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Region	Social and cultural activities	
Region	NO INVOLVEMENT	INVOLVED
LONDON (26)	31%(8)	69%(18)
LIVERPOOL (40)	70%(28)	30%(12)

The pupils were also asked about the participation of their parents in Irish cultural practices in order to establish a wider picture of the place of such activities in the home (see table 8). In London 96% of the sample describe their parents as being engaged in Irish social and cultural activities, whereas in Liverpool the proportion of parents so involved is just 22.5%. The difference between the two sets of parents on this is statistically significant at the .001 level. This evidence adds to the picture of the London pupils living in areas where to be involved in Irish social and cultural activities which reinforce and signify their Irishness is not unusual, whereas in Liverpool it is relatively exceptional.

TABLE 8

PUPILS: PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Region	Social and cultural activities	
	NO INVOLVEMENT	INVOLVED
LONDON (26)	4%(1)	96%(25)
LIVERPOOL (40)	77.5%(31)	22.5%(9)

When the London sample was examined for the distribution of responses, in terms of identity and social class no pattern significantly different from that for the sample as a whole emerged. Given that the London sample are all second generation and, therefore, generation could not be the basis of any variation, this further emphasises the uniformity of such practices in the areas where the London pupils live. The 31% of pupils in London who responded that they did not engage in such activities were, however, all living in circumstances where their parents were so involved, and in each case they regularly visited Ireland and also reported that Ireland, their relatives etc, were frequently discussed at home. Consequently, their non-involvement cannot be assumed to necessarily distance them from their 'Irishness', although it is possible this may be so in individual cases. In this context it is interesting to note that the sole respondent to register no Irish social and cultural activities for any member of his family was a boy who described himself as a 'Londoner'. The rest of the sample who selected an identity other than Irishness all indicated the existence of some such activities in their family, including sometimes their own involvement.

In the Liverpool sample the picture is the reverse of that for the London pupils: 70% of the Liverpool pupils had no involvement in Irish cultural actvities compared with 31% who had no involvement in London. Thus 30% of the Liverpool pupils indicated some involvement compared with 69% who did in London. The responses about Irish social and cultural activities in Liverpool were also examined in terms of identity, generation and social class. What emerged was that identity and social class produced more variation in the pattern of responses than generation.

TABLE 9

LIVERPOOL PUPILS: INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Identity	Social and cultural activities	
	NO. INVOLVEMENT	INVOLVED
IRISH + IR. DES (5)	40%(2)	60%(3)
LIVERPUDLIAN (26)	76%(19)	27%(7)
BRITISH/ENGLISH (9)	100%(9)	0%

The distribution of responses in Liverpool according to the identity of the pupils produces a pattern that suggests that there may be a trend towards non-involvement in Irish social and cultural activities amongst those who selected British/English identity as primary (see table 9). Although the numbers are very small, especially of those who selected an Irish identity, the trend is nonetheless distinctive because none of those who chose British/English identity indicated any involvement in Irish social and cultural activities. At the very least, this distribution does

not detract from the hypothesis being explored here of Liverpudlianism being a mediating identity. As such, Liverpudlianism, a regional identity, could encompass expressions of allegience to both national identities, that is Irish and British/English, whereas on this account involvement in Irish cultural practices would be less likely to be compatible with selecting British/English as a primary identity.

The analysis of the Liverpool responses of involvement in Irish social and cultural activities in terms of social class are set out in table 10.

TABLE 10

LIVERPOOL PUPILS: INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class	Social and cultural activities	
	NO INVOLVEMENT	INVOLVED
MANUAL (27)	66%(18)	34%(9)
NON-MANUAL (8)	100%(8)	0%

In examining the impact of social class, a difference seems to exist between some involvement in Irish social and cultural activities by the children of parents in manual occupations compared with no such involvement by the children of parents in non-manual occupations (see table 10). Because of the small numbers involved this difference is only significant on a one-tail test. Although this degree of significance does not offer any form of conclusive evidence, it is of a level to suggest that placing some importance on social class in the incorporation process in Liverpool is not out of place. Both the non-manual respondents and those who chose a

British/English identity include pupils of different generations. Thus it is not surprising that distributing the responses according to generation does not produce any significant result or indicate any noteworthy pattern or trend. The importance of this for the present study is that it gives further support to the argument outlined above that, although ties with Irishness weaken with generation in Liverpool, to understand the process involved requires an explanation in terms of a complex of factors. Some avenues for further investigation to examine this complexity are suggested by the distribution of responses according to identity and social class outlined above.

3. THE TEACHERS

3.1 IDENTITY

The interviews with the teachers provided an invaluable opportunity to compare the responses of a group of adults who were Irish or of Irish descent, in order to explore the complexity of identity more fully than the interviews with the pupils alone would afford. It is this task which will occupy the rest of this chapter. Although the sample of staff is small (39), it is hoped that the patterns which are observed in their responses will provide an indication of the important questions that would need to be considered in a larger-scale study of Irish identity in this country.

In the case of the pupils, the organising principle of the subsequent analysis was location. London and Liverpool had been chosen to obtain access to different communities: one representative of the 19th-century Irish migration and one of the migration of the mid-20th century. Thus each group of pupils could be treated as a 'block' according to place of birth. It was expected that family and communal influences would be important. The staff could not be categorised in this way. Although all the staff were teaching in either London or Liverpool, only 51 per cent were born in these two cities. It was expected that place of birth and family would remain significant factors but also that other factors would

intrude to construct for the adults their own identity. Thus the identities the staff selected seemed a more useful starting point for the analysis of this group of interviews.

A threefold classification was used:

1 Irishness as primary
2 Irishness as secondary
3 Irishness absent

It was important to distinguish those who selected an Irish identity from those who did not. Given the expected complexity of factors determining identity for the adult sample, the interest focused on the degree of identification with Irishness which the respondents articulated. The hypothesis is that the denationalising process which forms part of attempts to incorporate the Irish in Britain produces a range of identities in those of Irish descent. With the staff the perception of retaining an allegiance to their Irish origins as a secondary identity was voiced strongly enough to sustain a separate category. A respondent classified as 'Irishness secondary' has usally volunteered 'British' or 'English' as their national identity. In contrast those in the 'Irishness primary' category have all selected either 'Irish' or 'of Irish descent' as their primary identity. The respondents who did not express any identification with Irishness are coded as 'Irishness absent'.

TABLE 11

TEACHERS: SELECTION OF IDENTITY

Identity	TEACHERS(39)
IRISHNESS PRIMARY	33%(13)
IRISHNESS SECONDARY	26%(10)
IRISHNESS ABSENT	41%(16)

Table 11 above presents the proportions of teachers in each of the identity categories.

3.2 GENERATION AND SOCIAL CLASS

The social class and generation distribution of the three identity groups is outlined in the tables below. To classify the generations of the staff the same four categories were used as with the pupils:

1 Born in Ireland
2 Parents born in Ireland
3 Grandparents born in Ireland
4 Great-grandparents+ born in Ireland

It emerges that all three identity groupings of the staff include people spanning at least three generations. For example, those who identify their Irishness as of primary importance range from those born in Ireland to those whose grandparents were born in Ireland (see table 12); while those for whom Irishness is not a significant identity range from someone born in

Ireland to people whose great-grandparents were born in Ireland. However, the third and fourth generations do seem less likely than the first and second generations to select an identity with an Irish component. Of the third and fourth generations 69% (9 out of 13) are in the Irishness-absent category compared with 37% (7 out of 19) of the first and second generations. This difference is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 12

TEACHERS: GENERATION DISTRIBUTION

Identity	Generation			
	1	2	3	4
IRISHNESS PRIMARY (13)	31%(4)	54%(7)	15%(2)	0%
IRISHNESS SECONDARY (10)	10%(1)	70%(7)	10%(1)	10%(1)
IRISHNESS ABSENT (16)	6%(1)	38%(6)	50%(8)	6%(1)

To categorise the sample according to social class, the staff were divided up on the basis of their parents' occupation so that the class background from which they came could be obtained. It is interesting to note that, although the numbers are small, the social class distribution of the three identity groupings of the staff reveals a reversal between the class profile of identity group 1 compared with the other two identity groups (see table 13). In identity group 1 just over three-fifths of the sample had parents with manual occupations and just under two-fifths had parents with non-manual occupations. While in both the other groups

approximately three-fifths come from non-manual origins and two-fifths come from homes where the parents had manual occupations.

TABLE 13

TEACHERS: SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION

Identity	Social Class	
	MANUAL	NON - MANUAL
1 IRISHNESS PRIMARY (13)	61.5%(8)	38.5%(5)
2 IRISHNESS SECONDARY (10)	40%(4)	60%(6)
3 IRISHNESS ABSENT (16)	37.5%(6)	62.5%(10)

In identity group 1 there are three people of middle-class origins who were born in the Republic of Ireland and who, therefore, were almost certain to have selected Irish as their identity. This makes even more striking the social class composition of identity group 1. If the social class origins comparison is made only between those born in Britain of Irish descent (33 out of the sample of 39) then the class origins of the respondents suggest other differences. Amongst the teachers who chose 'of Irish descent', 69% (11 out of 16) of those of working-class origin selected an identity involving an Irish element, compared with 41% (7 out of 17) of those whose parents had non-manual occupations. This is only significant on a one-tail test but is sufficiently interesting to bear in mind for a larger scale study.

The above patterns of responses suggest that both generation and social class are important for explaining the identity of the teachers of Irish descent. The responses indicate that Irish identity does weaken with generation, especially from the third generation onwards. However, the responses also indicate that social class may well be a significant factor in determining whether or not Irish identity is retained across generations. For example, both the third-generation teachers who are included in the' Irishness primary' category are working class, while two-thirds (4 out of 6) of the second generation in the 'Irishness absent' category are middle class.

3.3 CULTURAL PRACTICES

3.3.1 Visits

It remains to consider the influence of involvement in Irish cultural practices on the identity of this group of teachers. The visits to Ireland of the staff were classified as follows:

1. Never visited Ireland
2. Occasional visits
3. Regular visits

Although not statistically significant, it may be noteworthy that all of those who selected Irishness as either their primary or secondary identity had visited Ireland at some point (see table 14).

However, when the responses about visits to Ireland were distributed according to generation, significant variation emerged, as detailed in table 15. What is immediately apparent is that 77% (20 out of 26) of the first and second generation have gone on regular visits to Ireland at some point in their lives (see table 15). This compares with only 23% (3 out of 13) of the third and fourth generation who have ever been on regular trips to Ireland. This difference is significant at the .01 level. This finding

correlates with that which was revealed for the pupils. Regular visits to Ireland were a dominant feature of the lives of the London pupils, all of whom were second generation. The significance of generation for explaining the likelihood of the teachers visiting Ireland was reinforced when their responses were examined in terms of their social class background. There was no noteworthy variation between staff from manual compared with non-manual backgrounds concerning patterns of visiting Ireland.

TABLE 14

TEACHERS: VISITS TO IRELAND

Identity	Visits		
	NONE	OCCAS	REG
IRISHNESS PRIMARY (13)	0%	23%(3)	77%(10)
IRISHNESS SECONDARY (10)	0%	30%(3)	70%(7)
IRISHNESS ABSENT (16)	25%(4)	37.5%(6)	37.5%(6)

TABLE 15

TEACHERS: VISITS TO IRELAND BY GENERATION

Generation	Visits		
	NONE	OCCAS	REG
FIRST GENERATION (6)	0%	17%(1)	83%(5)
SECOND GENERATION (20)	5%(1)	20%(4)	75%(15)
THIRD GENERATION (11)	27%(3)	45%(5)	27%(3)
FOURTH GENERATION (2)		100%(2)	

3.3.2 Irish Social and Cultural activities

In classifying the involvement of the staff in Irish social and cultural activities the same two categories were used as with the pupils:

1. No involvement
2. Involved

The responses of the teachers to this question reveal that 74% (17 out of 23) of those for whom an Irish identity is relevant have at some point in their lives been involved in Irish social and cultural activities (see table 16); while only 12.5% (2 out of 16) of those for whom Irishness does not form part of their identity report any involvement in Irish social and cultural activities either in the past or the present. This difference is significant at the .001 level. The result is the same if the responses of

the teachers of Irish descent alone are examined on this point. This indicates that amongst the teachers the continuing relevance of an Irish identity, whether it is of primary or secondary importance, is strongly associated with their participation in Irish social and cultural activities at some point in their lives.

TABLE 16

TEACHERS: INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Identity	Social and cultural activities	
	NO INVOLVEMENT	INVOLVED
IRISHNESS PRIMARY (13)	23%(3)	77%(10)
IRISHNESS SECONDARY (10)	30%(3)	70%(7)
IRISHNESS ABSENT (16)	87.5%(14)	12.5%(2)

Participation in Irish social and cultural activities was distributed according to the generation of the staff but produced no significant variation (see table 17). One of the reasons is that the second generation, who form the largest single grouping, are almost equally split between being involved in Irish activities and not being so. It will be remembered that the majority of the second generation were also split between choosing Irish as primary or Irish as secondary for their identity. Given the close relation noted above between selecting an Irish identity and being involved in Irish social and cultural activities, this suggests

that such involvement can mitigate the impact of generation in weakening ties with Irish antecedents.

TABLE 17

TEACHERS: INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES BY GENERATION

Generation	Social and cultural activities	
	NO INVOLVEMENT	INVOLVED
FIRST GENERATION (6)	66%(4)	33%(2)
SECOND GENERATION (20)	45%(9)	55%(11)
THIRD GENERATION (11)	63%(7)	37%(4)
FOURTH GENERATION (2)	0%	100%(2)

3.4 THE MEANING OF IDENTITY

The teachers were asked a direct question about the meaning that their selected identity or identities had for them. Below is a detailed examination of the characteristics of each of the three identity groups in order to explore further the basis of identity for this sample of teachers in Catholic schools.

3.4.1 Irishness as primary

The 13 staff who gave 'Irish' or 'of Irish descent' as their primary identity are clearly demarcated from the rest of the sample. This is in terms both of the ease with which they identified their 'Irishness' and its dominant influence on their lives. As already noted, this group contains people who are first, second and third-generation Irish. It is useful to distinguish between those who were born in Ireland (4 out of 13) and those who were born in Britain (9 out of 13). For the former grouping, which included one person born in Northern Ireland, it was a straightforward matter to identify themselves as Irish. All but one visited Ireland regularly, the exception no longer had relatives there. The main difference between those born in Ireland concerns their involvement in Irish social and cultural activities. Two who are involved in such activities comment on the importance of asserting their Irish identity in Britain:

> My Irishness - my whole life is geared in that direction; being out of Ireland, to assert it is far more important here than in Ireland.

> When I was in the North, just part of it and didn't think about it - when I was in Dublin, was aware of being from Northern Ireland. Here, everything about being Irish has been reinforced, I'm very aware of it.

The other two teachers born in Ireland who are not involved in any such activities comment on their identity differently:

> It's just a part of me because reared there.

> I'm Irish full stop. However, as years go by and one's parents aren't there, one changes. My home's here now with my children in this country: it's people that matter not places.

The numbers are far too small to draw any inferences. However, it may be that the difference in the responeses is the classic one between those whose response to living in this country is to assert their Irishness publicly and for others it is to adopt a low profile.

The remaining nine teachers in this group were all born in various parts of Britain, and all but two are second generation, the exceptions being third generation. All of this grouping bar one gave their primary identity as 'of Irish descent', the exception selecting 'Irish'. The question which presents itself with this group of teachers is: why is their Irishness of central importance for them. All of them come from families where they were well aware of their Irish heritage. As adults the sense of their origins and what it represents continues to be a direct influence on their lives. Accompanying this, however, is a realisation that they are not necessarily able to declare themselves fully as Irish because they were born in Britain. A number of this group articulated the difficulties of being of Irish descent in this country:

> I'm Irish - but on an official document in this country I would put 'British'. It's not a good thing at all, its a bag of problems, but to reject it would be to reject myself. When I was an adolescent and was into pop culture and at time of my father's death is only time I rejected my Irishness.

> I don't really see myself as either, I fall between the two. I mix quite easily with Irish people but not all the time. I would like to go back to live there but not now. My friends outside school are Irish and therefore links catered for there. If I wasn't working here would gravitate towards Irish people in another working situation.

> A 'mongrel' - I feel in many ways more Irish or would like to be, but am categorised as British. I feel a stronger attachment to things Irish than anything here - though of course people see me as English and that comes back to give me a split personality.

What distinguishes the nine teachers of Irish descent who selected 'Of Irish descent' as primary from those who selected 'of Irish descent' as a secondary identity was their seeming lack of resolution of these difficulties. Their Irishness remains to the fore and they continue to live the dilemma.

Six teachers record 'British' as a secondary identity and its meaning ranges from viewing this identity as 'a fact of life' to being split between the two identities, although their leaning towards their 'Irishness' is dominant. The three at variance with this comprise one teacher proclaiming a dislike of the term 'British' and what it represents and two people from Liverpool who make no reference to Britishness at all. Amongst four of the teachers of Irish descent (which includes the three above who make no mention of a British secondary identity) their Irishness was linked to an overt political consciousness of its significance for them. Of these, two gave particularly unqualified accounts of their Irish identity and in each case it was linked to a high level of participation in Irish social and cultural activities as adults. The other two were both third generation and it is possible that there is a relationship between this politicisation of their Irish identity and its survival.

In summary, what all these 13 teachers have in common is that their Irish origins continue to be immensely significant in their lives. Concerning their differences, the level of participation in Irish social and cultural activities for the Irish born is linked to their responses to living in Britain. Those of Irish descent, the majority of whom have been socially mobile in becoming teachers, have either continued, or become, very involved in Irish social and cultural activities or there is a close relationship between their notions of their Irishness and their wider political perspective.

3.4.2 Irishness as secondary

This group of teachers spans four generations. It includes one teacher born in Northern Ireland and one whose great-grandmother was born in Ireland. The majority, however, are second and third generation. What they all share is that they selected 'British' as their primary identity and all claimed that their Irishness was an important secondary identity. The responses of this group suggest that 'British' can represent a conglomerate politicised identity which does not necessarily preclude the co-existence of an Irish identity but always masks it in public:

> I never say I'm English because of connotations, on forms I put British, in unofficial terms call myself Irish because I've a very Irish family and early on in life we had strong feelings that we were Irish.

> I'd say British rather than English - but I lean more towards the Irish side of the family than the English. Also my mother sees herself as Irish even though as from Northern Ireland could be British.

> Have split loyalties in the interest of fair play - say I'm Irish with Irish blood but depends where I am. In Ireland when Britain is attacked I defend Britain but also vice versa.

> I just switch between them and it's no problem, got Irish and British passports - because you're either one thing or the other.

It is possible that identifying as British represents one resolution of the 'problems' of being of Irish descent. For the one person in this group who was born in Ireland the dilemma is different, but 'British' identity is still the means of resolution:

> The trouble in Northern Ireland is the main reason I'm here, my father's pub was blown up, I'd become afraid. My husband is a Protestant: it doesn't bother my family, but if he was a Protestant from Northern Ireland it would and might even bother me. On forms I put British, though always think 'should I write Irish'. It helps now I'm married to someone British. I've got two passports because I can't quite make up my mind.

Some of the teachers commented on the change selecting British represented for them compared with their childhood:

> British - now it means more than just born here, I suppose I've felt double-edged. When younger felt Irish thing far more and felt resentment against Britain and whole colonial set up. As got older are certain things I feel good about British society and which I'm pleased to be linked with. Don't feel patriotism to any one group because it's British or Irish - that's partly a result of what has happened and I can sympathise with the Protestant who doesn't want to go under Dublin.

> Not English, difficult to say why not - describe myself as of Irish descent. Became proud of being British in last twenty years as I realised that my

> father's prejudices were outrageous. Falklands was an unmitigated disaster but 'our lads' were a tribute to us. My sons laugh at me because of my Irishness.

Only two members of this group of teachers indicated that there were no problems in being of Irish descent. Both were born and lived in Liverpool. Neither claimed a Liverpudlian identity but their comments seem to bear out the observations of those pupils who were convinced that it was easy to be Irish in Liverpool:

> It means something to me purely because I don't dismiss heritage lightly. And my great-aunt used to talk about all the people coming over and I don't think they should be forgotten.

> I'm not Irish despite a strong Irish culture and sometimes say I'm Irish. I think of Britain as not stopping with England, that's why I don't say English - Wales and Scotland aren't foreign countries, though I can understand them keeping own national identity.

In summary, the juxtaposition of 'British' as a public identity with an Irish secondary identity is a negotiable situation for the individual. Within this small group of teachers three sub-divisions appear to differentiate themselves: one group relegates their Irishness to the background compared with its strength in their childhood and this is associated with a growing identification with Britishness; another group, beneath their British identity, continues to live the 'split', sometimes seeing this as advantageous and sometimes not; and for the final group there is no problem at all, possibly because they live in a place where this form of co-existence is not uncommon. A larger-scale study would be able to establish whether these distinctions are more generally

representative of the range of responses to the dilemmas of being Irish in Britain.

3.4.3 Irishness absent

This group of 16 teachers, all of Irish descent except for one person born in Northern Ireland, have in common that they did not select an Irish identity as either of primary or secondary significance. This absence of an Irish identity does not mean that these teachers are unaware of their Irish antecedents. On the contrary, many discussed at some length the Irish connections of their family and how they perceived themselves in relation to this. As already noted, only 12.5% of this group have been involved in Irish social and cultural activities and only one person regularly visits Ireland (because his parents have retired there), although a few did as children. The picture is therefore of considerable distance from 'Irishness'. A number of different identities emerged from this group.

A large minority, 44% (7 out of 16), selected British as their primary identity. For many of these teachers it seemed to function as an 'umbrella' identity, often sheltering a strong attachment to a local identity: mostly either Northerner or Liverpudlian. Few professed any great degree of patriotism towards being British, in fact this was explicitely denied in a number of cases:

> Just a descriptive term because I was born and live here - not the glorious Britannica, jewel in the crown touch.

> Not completely English because of Irish connection. British encompasses Irish, Scottish and Welsh. Not of much English blood and no loyalty to England but do as a Scouser, because born and brought up here.

> Prefer to be called British - at one time proud of Liverpool, especially when living outside of Liverpool but now don't associate myself as much and live in the environs not the city now. Britain is a more reasonable term as involves whole islands, is more unifying.

> Emphasis in my socialisation has been to be that identity (British) - though have no great pride in it.

Another substantial minority, 25% (4 out of 16), selected English as their primary identity. In comparison with the previous group those who said they were English expressed considerable attachment to their identity. This group included people who were second-generation Irish and for them proclaiming their Englishness was a conscious statement of their non-identification with their Irish background:

> English because nearly all my background is and my education has been. Used to tease my mother about coming from Ireland, you know 'the bog Irish'. I see myself as far as I'm Irish, I've assimilated, but I'm interested in things Irish still.

> English because born in London, not sure what British means, more a political term while English is a cultural term. Don't feel patriotic, for example was against the Falklands. I'm identifying with English cultural accents, attitudes of mind, great deal to do with art and popular music. It has something to do with not being Irish, I'm the first of my family to be born here and I've made a definite identity for myself. Also, to do with Northern Ireland, I read a lot about it, talked a lot with my family but gradually I came to realise I was English like my friends. I was in a position where I had to label myself and did.

For another group, 31% (5 out of 16), their primary identity was that of the region in which they had been born. This group included a Glaswegian, two Londoners and two Liverpudlians. For the teachers from Glasgow and London, although they subscribed to their regional identity, they were all inclined to play down the significance of identity, especially in its national forms. In contrast the two Liverpudlians expressed pride in being from Liverpool:

> Liverpool means a lot more. Liverpudlians are a unique race, on their own, been formed out of the melting pot, more than anywhere else in Britain. I think nationalism is dangerous but unavoidable, for example can get knifed in Ireland if don't stand for national anthem.

> Attachment is to Liverpool because of accent but not overpowering.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to establish some of the significant features which determine the national identity of the respondents and what meaning their national identity holds for them. Strikingly, over four-fifths of the pupils chose either an Irish identity or Liverpudlian as their primary identity, thus eschewing the national identity of the country in which they were born. In London the picture which emerges is of pupils who live in a strong, self-expressive Irish community. A large majority of the pupils and their families visit Ireland and participate in Irish social and cultural activities. There was no evidence amongst the London pupils that coming from a middle-class background weakened ties of allegiance to Irishness.

In Liverpool the evidence is that allegiance to Irishness weakens with generation. Amongst the Liverpool pupils there are very few who have

visited Ireland or participated in Irish social and cultural activities. However, the findings and comments of the pupils in Liverpool suggest that Liverpudlianism is a mediating identity, which can encompass identification with either Irishness or Britishness. The indication is that membership of the middle class makes the selection of Liverpudlianism as a primary identity less likely. None of the Liverpool pupils who selected a British/English identity or who was middle class participated in Irish social and cultural activities. The evidence from the Liverpool sample of pupils is, therefore, that the weakening of identification with Irish origins over the generations can only be understood as the outcome of a complex set of factors, in particular involving the existence of a mediating identity and processes of social mobility.

These suggestions are reinforced by the findings of the teachers sample. Again the evidence is of weakening ties of allegiance with Irishness by the third and fourth generation. Both identity and social class are implicated as being the significant factors to explain the pattern and process of incorporation. In particular, the continuing relevance of an Irish identity is strongly associated with participation in Irish social and cultural activities. Both the pupils and teachers indicate that being Irish in Britain is problematic. Maintenance of Irish identities often involves complex negotiations between the public and private spheres of people's lives.

CHAPTER NINE

FINDINGS: THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

1. INTRODUCTION

Part one of the thesis argued that the process of incorporation entailed pressure on the Irish to deny their Irishness or to be invisible and silent about their identity. In this chapter the responses of the pupils and teachers to questions designed to explore the silence and low profile of the Irish in Britain are examined. The first part of this section of the interview explores how the sample of pupils and teachers view Irish jokes and what they think about the wider effects of the jokes. The second part of this section consists of questions about both the visibility and treatment of the Irish in Britain. The intention of these questions is to discover how the two different samples of pupils and the teachers interviewed perceived the experience of being Irish in Britain. The hypothesis here is that identity will prove significant in explaining variations in the responses, especially of the London pupils and of the teachers. The expectation is that those who selected an Irish identity will be more likely to view the Irish as an 'ethnic minority' and consider that the Irish are treated differently from other groups.

2. ANTI-IRISH JOKES

There were three questions in this part of the interview:

14. Do you notice Irish jokes around much?

15. What do you think of them?

16. What do you think most Irish people think of the jokes?

2.1 THE PUPILS

2.1.1 Question 14: Do you notice Irish jokes around much?

The intention in this question was to establish the pupils' awareness of anti-Irish jokes.

TABLE 1

PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF IRISH JOKES

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
YES	94%(62)	93%(24)	96%(38)
NO	6%(4)	8%(2)	5%(2)

An overwhelming percentage of the pupils stated that they noticed Irish jokes (see table 1). There was no difference between the responses of the London and Liverpool samples.

2.1.2 Question 15: What do you think of them?

The responses to this question indicated that the jokes were either deemed to entail no offence or were considered problematic to one degree or another. The coding categories used are: 'acceptance'; 'problematic/contingent'; and 'problematic/rejection'. Those who considered jokes as just another type of joke are coded as 'acceptance'; the respondents who think the jokes can be a problem but that it varies

with the circumstances in which the joke is told are coded as 'problematic/contingent'; while those who experience the jokes as offensive and, therefore, not funny are coded as 'problematic/rejection'.

Over half of the pupils, 58% (38 out of 66) thought that Irish jokes were problematic: 34% (22 out of 66) of the pupils rejected them as not funny at all; and 24% (16 out of 66) gave a contingent response indicating that their reaction to the jokes could vary (see table 2a). 42% (28 out of 66) of the pupils accepted the jokes as 'just a joke'. A striking feature of these findings is the degree of similarity in the overall pattern of responses in both cities.

TABLE 2a

PUPILS: REACTIONS TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES

Response	Reaction to jokes		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
ACCEPTANCE	42%(28)	42%(11)	43%(17)
PROBLEMATIC/CONTINGENT	24%(16)	23%(6)	25%(10)
PROBLEMATIC/REJECTION	34%(22)	35%(9)	33%(13)

Amongst the London pupils there was a variation in their responses according to their class background (see table 2b). A clear reversal is in operation between the responses of the middle-class and working-class pupils. Only 29% (2 out of 7) of the pupils from a middle-class background thought that Irish jokes were problematic. On the other hand two-thirds of

the working-class pupils (12 out of 18) thought the jokes were problematic. This difference is significant at the .05 level. There were no significant variations in the responses of the pupils in Liverpool.

TABLE 2b

LONDON PUPILS: REACTIONS TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Response	Social Class	
	NON-MANUAL (7)	MANUAL (18)
ACCEPTANCE	71%(5)	29%(2)
PROBLEMATIC	33%(6)	66%(12)

2.1.3 Question 16. What do you think most Irish people think of Irish jokes?

The same categories were used to code the responses to this question as to the last with the addition of 'don't know'. This facilitated any relevant comparisons between the respondents' own views about anti-Irish jokes and what they considered to be the reactions of most Irish people to the jokes.

Over four-fifths, 81% (53 out of 66), of the pupils thought that most Irish people would find the jokes problematic: 46% (30 out of 66) thought Irish people would reject the jokes as not funny; and 35% (23 out of 66) thought that they would have a contingent reaction to the jokes (see table 3a). A minority, 15% (10 out of 66), considered that most Irish people

would accept the jokes as inoffensive. The two samples were broadly similar in their responses to this question. It is perhaps noteworthy that there were no 'don't knows' in London and that there were fewer pupils in Liverpool (3 out of 40 compared with 7 out of 26 in London) who thought that Irish people would accept the jokes.

Amongst the pupils in Liverpool identity produced a significant variation. The striking finding is that all of those who selected a regional identity, that is Liverpudlian, considered that most Irish people would find the jokes problematic (see table 3b). A majority of each of the other identity groups also thought that Irish people would find the jokes a problem. However, there was still a significant difference between their replies and those of the group who said their primary identity was as a Liverpudlian. This difference was significant at the .01 level (zero in cell).

TABLE 3a

PUPILS: PERCEIVED REACTIONS OF IRISH PEOPLE TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES

Response	Sample group		
	WHOLE SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
ACCEPTANCE	15%(10)	27%(7)	8%(3)
PROBLEMATIC/CONTINGENT	35%(23)	35%(9)	35%(14)
PROBLEMATIC/REJECTION	46%(30)	38%(10)	50%(20)
D K	5%(3)	0%	8%(3)

TABLE 3b

LIVERPOOL PUPILS: PERCEIVED REACTIONS OF IRISH PEOPLE TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES ACCORDING TO PUPILS' IDENTITY

Response	Identity		
	IRISH(5)	REG IDENTITY(26)	BR/ENGLISH(9)
ACCEPTANCE	20%(1)	0%	22%(2)
PROBLEMATIC	60%(3)	100%(26)	56%(5)
D K	20%(1)	0%	22%(2)

2.1.4 Discussion

The intention behind the opening question of this section was to establish the respondents' threshold of awareness concerning Irish jokes. The massive majority of pupils who said that they did notice the jokes confirmed the currency of the jokes. A small number of the pupils commented that the jokes were less prevalent than they used to be. However, other pupils remarked that they thought that Irish jokes were the most common jokes they heard. The two most frequent sources of Irish jokes appeared to be another person or hearing them on television.

It is very interesting that in response to the next question, which inquired about the respondents' own reactions to Irish jokes, there was again little variation between the two samples. The pattern of either acceptance or viewing the jokes as problematic was very similar in London and Liverpool. Those who accepted the jokes gave a range of replies which

implied that they thought that a joke was a joke and did not entail offence to anyone:

> Just jokes - nothing in them.
>
> Not bothered - I think they're funny.
>
> Don't take offence at them.
>
> Don't mind them, only fun - everyone has to take a bit of stick. For example, the coloureds and that don't mind much.
>
> Don't mind them, you know Irish people aren't daft, just Paddy and Mick jokes, most people realise that.
>
> Funny - people pick on a nation just like Jewish people, as long as in good fun there's nothing the matter with them.

In contrast, those who deemed the jokes to be problematic indicated that it was possible for the jokes to give offence. The 34% of the pupils who rejected the jokes completely did not find them funny at all:

> They're prejudiced because they only talk about one person being stupid.
>
> Hate them, me dad don't like them. I don't like the way the Irish are degraded.
>
> I find them racist, for example it would be if you said it about a coloured person, I don't think racism should be on television.
>
> It's horrible as makes Irish people out to be really thick.

> They're not really funny because the Irish aren't stupid.
>
> Prejudiced - people are trying to get the message across that the Irish are stupid and I don't think they are.

24% of the pupils said that their reaction to Irish jokes could vary. Principally their reaction seemed to be determined by the content of the joke itself:

> Some are quite funny, but some go too far and are not fair on Irish people.
>
> Some are funny, some are stupid.
>
> Some are horrible, taking the mickey out of the Irish, some are a bit funny.
>
> Some are quite funny but I don't think they should be directed against the Irish so much. I think they were because of prejudice, the Irish causing trouble.

For all the pupils who found the jokes problematic, whether they rejected the jokes entirely or not, the aspect of the jokes that caused most offence was the imputation that the Irish are stupid.

In the only significant variation within either sample, the perception of the jokes as derogatory towards the Irish was more strongly associated in London with the pupils from a working-class background than those of a middle-class background. It would be worth further exploration in a larger study to discover whether this difference may exist because the pupils from working-class homes in London are in closer proximity to articulated opposition to Irish jokes. In contrast, in Liverpool there were no significant variations within the sample. However, as already noted, 58%

of them viewed the jokes as problematic. This seemed from their replies to stem from 'knowing' Irish people were not like 'that', that is, stupid. The suggestion here is that this could be the consequence of a general awareness of Irish antecedents as part of Liverpool's history. It may be possible to explore this further in the responses to the remaining questions in this part of the interview.

It is striking that very few of the pupils in either city thought that most Irish people would accept the jokes. 81% of the pupils considered that Irish people would view the jokes as problematic. The pupils who thought that most Irish people would reject the jokes outright gave similar reasons for this rejection as they had for their own. However, there was an interesting difference between the reasons for thinking Irish people would have a contingent response compared with the reason that had been given by the pupils for their own contingent response to the jokes. Most pupils who said their own reaction would vary cited the content of the joke itself as being critical. In contrast, those who thought Irish people's reactions to the jokes might vary described the main determinant of this as being the listener:

> Some Irish people take it for a laugh but some take it seriously because they're always taking the mick.
>
> Most take them all right but some are very vexed - why pick on the Irish?
>
> My mum doesn't mind them; my dad can't stand them. He doesn't like the English or England much.
>
> Some take it as a joke, others see them as insulting.
>
> Some don't mind but it must harm them a bit, get on their nerves.

> Some older people get angry because they don't believe the Irish should be made out to be stupid.

These answers suggest the pupils' sensitivity to different reasons why Irish people might vary in their response to the jokes. It is important to stress that these replies were as typical of Liverpool as of London. The only difference is that there is a more speculative tone to some of the comments in Liverpool compared with a greater certainity in the London replies. This probably reflects the different areas in which they live and their different degree of contact with people born in Ireland. In highlighting the individual listener's response to Irish jokes the pupils who think Irish people's reaction will vary focus on the potential diversity of response to the same joke. This raises questions about what determines Irish people's response to the jokes and the implication is that the content of the joke is not the sole determinant.

The pupils who had rejected the jokes objected to the characterisation of the Irish as stupid. Similarly they thought that most Irish people who completely rejected the jokes would have this objection. In Liverpool every single one of the pupils who selected a Liverpudlian identity thought that Irish people would find the jokes problematic:

> Can imagine they don't really like them as always getting skitted for being backward compared with English, Welsh or Scottish.

> Dislike them because they're skitting them, saying they're stupid.

> Don't think many Irish like them - getting skitted all the time.

> A lot disgusted because always getting skitted.

> They think they're prejudiced because everyone thinks the Irish are stupid.

This significant finding further suggests that the Liverpudlian identity encompasses a certain sensitivity on matters affecting Irish people.

In their comments on what most Irish people who find the jokes problematic would think, some of the the pupils' emphasis is on what evasive action or strategies might be adopted to cope with the jokes:

> Don't like them but still laugh and keep it to themselves so as not to cause a bad atmosphere. You can tell a lot of jokes without despising anyone.
>
> Mum and Dad just switch the television off - it really gets them if it's an Irish person telling them. My friends don't tell them.
>
> My Dad laughs them off but if he tells one he changes it to the English.
>
> Deep down probably don't like it but don't show it.
>
> Probably take it to heart a lot, I've seen some not laugh and turn away.

Here the reason for Irish people disliking the jokes is largely assumed to be self-evident. The comments are thus on whether the response is one of forbearance (a low profile) or active hostility to the jokes.

2.2 THE TEACHERS

2.2.1 Question 14: Do you notice Irish jokes around much?

It is clear that selected identity produces no variation (see table 4).

TABLE 4

TEACHERS: INCIDENCE OF ANTI-IRISH JOKES

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH PRIMARY (13)	IRISH SECONDARY (10)	IRISH ABSENT (16)
YES	87% (34)	77% (10)	100% (10)	88% (14)
NO	13% (5)	23% (3)	0%	12% (2)

A similarly overwhelming majority of the teachers, 87% (34 out of 39), as of the pupils stated that they did notice Irish jokes around.

2.2.2 Question 15: What do you think of them?

Two-thirds of the teachers considered the jokes to be problematic (see table 5). 15% (6 out of 39) rejected the jokes altogether as not funny while a majority of the teachers, 51% (20 out of 39), stated that their reaction to Irish jokes was contingent. A third of the staff, (13 out of

39), accepted the jokes as 'just a joke'. There was, however, a significant variation between the different identity groups concerning whether they accepted the jokes or not. None of those who had selected 'Irish' as their primary identity accepted the jokes, whereas 40% (4 out of 10) of the Irishness secondary group and 56% (9 out of 16) of the Irishness absent group said that they accepted the jokes. This difference between the Irishness primary group and the rest of the teachers is significant at the .02 level (zero in cell).

TABLE 5

TEACHERS: REACTIONS TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE(39)	IRISH PRIMARY(13)	IRISH SECONDARY(10)	IRISH ABSENT(16)
ACCEPTANCE	33%(13)	0%	40%(4)	56%(9)
PROBLEMATIC/ CONTINGENT	51%(20)	69%(9)	50%(5)	38%(6)
PROBLEMATIC/ REJECTION	15%(6)	31%(4)	10%(1)	6%(1)

2.2.3 Question 16: What do you think most Irish people think of them

A higher proportion of the teachers, 44% (17 out of 39), thought that most Irish people would accept the jokes, compared with the 15% (10 out of 66) of the pupils who had thought the same (see table 6). This difference

is significant at the .01 level. However, a majority of the staff, 54% (21 out of 39), thought most Irish people would consider the jokes to be problematic.

TABLE 6

TEACHERS. PERCEIVED REACTIONS OF IRISH PEOPLE TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE(39)	IRISH PRIMARY(13)	IRISH SECONDARY(10)	IRISH ABSENT(16)
ACCEPTANCE	44%(17)	38%(5)	30%(3)	56%(9)
PROBLEMATIC/ CONTINGENT	33%(13)	38%(5)	30%(3)	32%(5)
PROBLEMATIC/ REJECTION	21%(8)	23%(3)	30%(3)	12%(2)
D K	3%(1)	0%	10%(1)	0%

2.2.4 Discussion

A large majority of the staff stated that they were aware of Irish jokes. This gave further confirmation of the currency of the jokes and indicated that Irish jokes were as evident to this adult sample as to the 15-year olds interviewed. The small number, 13% (5 out of 39), who said they did not notice the jokes said that this was because they took measures

to avoid them, for example, not watching particular T V programmes or not mixing with people who would tell the jokes. Thus the negative replies to this question do not necessarily indicate the absence of Irish jokes. Instead they offer early evidence of some of the staff objecting to the jokes. The next two questions were designed to explore more fully the teachers' reactions to Irish jokes.

There was a strong relation between the identity of the teachers and their reactions to the jokes. All of the staff who had selected an Irish identity as primary considered the jokes to be problematic, as did three-fifths of those who designated Irishness as their secondary identity. A large proportion of the teachers who found Irish jokes problematic said that their reaction to the jokes could vary, rather than stating that they rejected the jokes outright. For most of the group who had a contingent reaction to the jokes what mattered was the content of the jokes:

> At first I don't like them, then it depends on the joke whether I laugh, if it's clever or not.
>
> It varies, some are offensive, though I laugh at some.
>
> Mixed - if some cleverness then I'm amused, but try not to take them too seriously.
>
> Irish often used as scapegoats; the jokes are funny but quite cruel.
>
> It depends on the joke, some are offensive but expect sense of humour to prevail. But underlying they are racist.
>
> If they are funny I don't mind but object if implying too much stupidity. But in Ireland do have Kerry jokes.

Other teachers who found the jokes problematic rejected them completely:

> I ignore them, they're unfunny.
>
> I've come to see them as somewhat degrading and racist.
>
> I resent the implication that the Irish are slower-witted than other groups. I usually try to invert the jokes.
>
> I make a point of saying it's a racist joke but becomes boring like going on about people smoking.
>
> They're irritating because of the assumption that the Irish are stupid.

All the teachers who viewed the jokes as problematic found objectionable the belittling of the Irish as a people. The teachers varied in whether they thought that all Irish jokes have this as their intention or only some have this intention.

However, a third of the teachers overall, and this included over half of the teachers who did not select an Irish identity, found Irish jokes acceptable. This grouping were more prone to see the jokes as 'just a joke':

> They're funny but I don't say that's what Irish people are like. The Irish tell Kerry jokes and French do about the Belgians.
>
> Any joke is funny at the expense of some group, it doesn't mean I think that of the Irish, they're not deliberately derogatory though must be a bit in the end.

> Accept them in the sense that they are meant as jokes. Treat them the same as colour in this school, each group tells them about themselves. It's to do with the Irish temperament, laugh easily.

> Like every joke, are a gross generalisation, like the Scots being mean. Though the Irish have a way of expressing themselves - simple/innocent - which encourages people to make jokes.

> Very funny - always depict Irish as dim. All countries single out some group - it doesn't reflect the Irish contribution to English society. Comments are just out of ignorance.

There is a general recognition by the teachers who accept the jokes that they are often at the expense of the Irish. Their attitude, in contrast to those who found the jokes problematic, is that there is nothing exceptional and, therefore, offensive in the Irish being singled out in this manner. The most frequent explanation for this was that every society has a group which is the particular butt of its jokes, in Britain it's the Irish. The responses of the teachers to this question, therefore, reveal different conceptions of the role of humour and of the ramifications of Irish jokes. Whether or not the teacher chooses an Irish identity appears to be critical for determining the view of the individual respondent to the jokes. Those not claiming Irishness as any part of their identity are far more likely to view the jokes as 'harmless fun'.

The teachers are more evenly split on what they think most Irish people think of the jokes than they are about their own reactions. Just under half the teachers think most Irish people accept the jokes:

> The majority, especially of my parents' generation, think they are quite funny.

> A lot of Irish people have a good sense of humour and don't take them seriously.
>
> Probably got a good sense of humour - on the staff don't seem affronted and laugh with us heartily.
>
> Most think they're very good - they tell them.
>
> Less touchy than other minority groups, possibly because they've been here a long time. Similar to Jews, tell the jokes themselves.

These views appear to be largely based on observing the reactions of Irish people they know. This contrasts strongly with the pupils' of whom only 15% thought most Irish people would accept the jokes.

The response of just over half the teachers was, however, to think that most Irish people found the jokes problematic. Some of these teachers thought the reaction of Irish people would be variable and would depend on the circumstances. The crucial variable was considered to be the person listening to the joke rather than the content of the joke:

> Some are very uptight and read more into them.
>
> Some react very strongly - I would never tell an Irish joke to an Irish person, although I heard Kerry jokes in Ireland.
>
> Some are offended, others laugh or give as good as they get.
>
> It depends on the circumstances - where someone has a strong Irish identity more likely to make caustic comments. In Liverpool, however, it's different - here skit each other and everyone else enormously.

> The Irish people I know don't mind them but I imagine someone easily offended would be annoyed.
>
> It's largely Irish comedians who tell'em, most find them quite amusing, I don't know if it's defensive. The more politically aware find them offensive.

It is interesting that a distinction is made by the teachers between what they think is the basis of most Irish people's contingent response compared with the reason they gave for their own contingent response to Irish jokes. While the teachers suggest that they decide their response in terms of the content of an individual joke, the implication is that most Irish people's response will be determined by whether not they view Irish jokes in general as being anti-Irish. This may suggest that there is a degree of reluctance on the part of some of the respondents to relate their own reponse to the jokes in terms of their own identity or political views' but this is more readily acknowledged as a determinant of most Irish people's response.

The teachers who described most Irish people as rejecting Irish jokes as not funny often described the avoidance or coping strategies that people use in such circumstances:

> I know lots who just won't listen, I understand when they say Irish jokes have gone on too long.
>
> Most rationalise their reaction because they don't feel able to object.
>
> They'll smile, used to it, absorb it but don't like it.
>
> Most ignore them; my mother doesn't like them. Some people prefer to laugh rather than make a fuss.

This small group of teachers base their assessment of what most Irish people think of the jokes on the premise that the surface reaction of the Irish to Irish jokes is not necessarily their true or only response to the jokes. Some of those who thought Irish people's response to the jokes would be contingent on the listener also suspected that an Irish person's immediate response might not reveal their complete reaction to the jokes. This suggests that some of the teachers in this sample view it as likely that most, or at least some, Irish people adopt various strategies in order to deal with the telling of Irish jokes which they find objectionable. It also suggests that many of the teachers think that one of the strategies that Irish people adopt is based on disguising their real response to the telling of Irish jokes.

3. BEING IRISH IN BRITAIN

The second part of the chapter consists of questions about the visibility and treatment of the Irish in Britain. The hypothesis here is that identity will prove significant in explaining variations in the responses, especially of the London pupils and of the teachers. The expectation is that those who selected Irish as their identity will be more likely to view the Irish as an 'ethnic minority' and consider that the Irish are subject to discrimination.

There were five questions in this part of the interview:

17. How would you know someone was Irish when you meet them?

18. How do you think the Irish are treated in this country?

19. Have you ever seen or heard anything directed against the Irish which you objected to?

20. Have you ever heard or seen anything which gives you a positive image of the Irish?

21. Do you think the Irish have mixed in well here or not?

3.1 THE PUPILS

3.1.1 Question 17: How would you know someone was Irish when you meet them?

Six categories were developed to code the responses to this question. The first three categories code the replies which referred to explicit features of the individual: speech, name, appearance. The last three categories refer to group attributes which the individual might possess: behaviour, class, ideology. For example, the 'behaviour' category included replies about people going to mass; the 'class' category included references to where people lived or to type of working clothes; and the 'ideology' category included responses about attending Irish clubs.

By a large margin, the means by which the majority of pupils in both cities, 92% (61 out of 66), said that they would know someone was Irish was by their voice (see table 7). It is very interesting to note that the second most often cited category was 'appearance'. Overall 27% (18 out of 66) stated that they would know someone was Irish when they met them because of what they looked like. There was a significant difference between the two samples on this response. In London 54% (14 out of 26) indicated that they would know someone was Irish by their appearance, in comparison to Liverpool where only 10% (4 out of 40) said this would be the case. This difference is significant at the .001 level.

TABLE 7

PUPILS: RECOGNITION MARKERS OF IRISHNESS

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE (66)	LONDON (26)	LIVERPOOL (40)
SPEECH	92%(61)	88%(23)	95%(38)
NAME	14%(9)	12%(3)	15%(6)
APPEARANCE	27%(18)	54%(14)	10%(4)
BEHAVIOUR	15%(10)	19%(5)	13%(5)
IDEOLOGY	9%(6)	0%	15%(6)
CLASS	2%(1)	4%(1)	0%

3.1.2 Question 18: How do you think the Irish are treated in this country?

Four categories were used to code the replies to this question: same, contingent, differently, don't know. The respondents who thought that the Irish were treated the same as everyone else were coded as 'same'; while under the 'contingent' category are grouped those who think that particular circumstances determine how the Irish are treated. The respondents who considered that the Irish are not treated the same as other people are included in the category 'differently'.

Just over half the pupils, 55% (36 out of 66), thought that the Irish are treated differently from other people in this country to one degree or another (see table 8a), whereas 42% (28 out of 66) of the whole sample considered that Irish people are treated the same as everyone else. There are no wide variations between the London and Liverpool pupils, the significant differences all lie within each sample.

TABLE 8a

PUPILS: PERCEPTIONS OF THE TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE (66)	LONDON (26)	LIVERPOOL (40)
SAME	42%(28)	46%(12)	40%(16)
CONTINGENT	35%(23)	31%(8)	38%(15)
DIFFERENTLY	20%(13)	23%(6)	18%(7)
D K .	3%(2)	0%	5%(2)

In London there is a suggestion that identity may be a significant variable. There is a clear contrast amongst the London pupils between the pupils who selected an Irish identity and those pupils who selected either a regional or British/English identity as of primary importance to them (see table 8b). All of the pupils who did not select an Irish identity thought that Irish people were treated the same as everyone else in Britain, whereas only one-third of the pupils who selected an Irish identity as of importance to them thought that Irish people were treated the same as everyone else. Because of the small numbers involved this

difference is only significant on a one-tail test. However, it suggests that in a larger-scale study it would be worth testing this hypothesis further.

TABLE 8b

LONDON PUPILS: PERCEPTIONS OF TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN ACCORDING TO PUPIL IDENTITY

Response	Identity	
	IRISH IDENTITIES (21)	OTHER IDENTITIES (5) (REG & BR/ENG)
SAME	33%(7)	100%(5)
CONTINGENT	38%(8)	0%
DIFFERENTLY	29%(6)	0%
D K	0%	0%

In Liverpool it is also interesting to examine the distribution of the pupils' responses according to their identity. 69% (18 out of 26) of the pupils who selected a regional identity, that is, Liverpudlian, said that they thought that Irish people are treated differently to one degree or another (see table 8c). This compares with 20% (1 out of 5) of those who selected an Irish identity as either primary or secondary, and with 33% (3 out of 9) of those who selected a British or English identity, thinking the Irish are treated differently. When the 'Liverpudlian' response is

compared with the responses of the other pupils it is statistically significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 8c

LIVERPOOL PUPILS: PERCEPTIONS OF TREATMENT OF IRISH IN BRITAIN ACCORDING TO PUPIL INDENTITY

Response	Identity		
	IRISH IDENTITIES (5)	REG IDENTITY (26)	BR/ENG (9)
SAME	80%(4)	31%(8)	44%(4)
CONTINGENT	20%(1)	42%(11)	33%(3)
DIFFERENTLY	0%	27%(7)	0%
D K	0%	0%	22%(2)

3.1.3 Question 19: Have you ever seen or heard anything directed against the Irish which you objected to?

The aim in this question was to establish whether the respondents had ever witnessed something directed towards the Irish to which they objected and, if so, what the incident concerned. Those who answered in the affirmative and cited institutional practices (for example, policing) as objectionable, or referred to incidents involving Northern Ireland, were grouped under 'yes/political'. The replies which referred to the jokes, or references to the Irish as stupid etc, are included under 'yes/stereotyping'. Others were coded as 'no' or 'don't know'.

A majority of the pupils, 58% (38 out of 66), said that they had seen or heard something which they objected to directed against the Irish (see table 9a). Just under a third, (19 out of 66), said they had not, and 14% (9 out of 66) did not know. It is interesting that there are no significant variations between the London and Liverpool samples; however, within each sample there are more marked variations.

TABLE 9a

PUPILS: OBJECTIONS TO TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE (66)	LONDON (26)	LIVERPOOL (40)
YES/POLITICAL	41%(27)	31%(8)	48%(19)
YES/STEREOTYPING	17%(11)	27%(7)	10%(4)
NO	29%(19)	23%(6)	33%(13)
D K	14%(9)	19%(5)	10%(4)

In London the distribution of responses according to social class is worthy of attention. It is noticeable that 72% (13 out of 18) of the pupils from a working-class background in London answered that they had witnessed or heard something derogatory to the Irish to which they objected (see table 9b). This compares with 28% (2 out of 7) of the pupils from a middle-class background giving the same reponse. Because the numbers involved are very small this just misses being statistically significant (but note that on a one tail-test it is significant). However, it suggests

that in a study based on a larger sample it would be worth testing this class dimension further.

TABLE 9b

LONDON PUPILS: OBJECTIONS TO TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Response	Social Class	
	NON-MANUAL (7)	MANUAL (18)
YES/POLITICAL	14%(1)	39%(7)
YES/STEREOTYPING	14%(1)	33%(6)
NO	28%(2)	22%(4)
D K	43%(3)	5%(1)

In Liverpool social class is also significant (see table 9c). The main demarcation appears in terms of the greater likelihood of the middle-class pupils to indicate that they had seem or heard something 'political' directed against the Irish to which they objected. 77% (6 out of 8) of the middle-class pupils give this response compared with 33% (9 out of 27) of the working-class pupils (see table 9c). This difference is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 9c

LIVERPOOL PUPILS: OBJECTIONS TO THE TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Response	Social Class	
	NON-MANUAL (8)	MANUAL (27)
YES/POLITICAL	77%(6)	33%(9)
YES/STEREOTYPING	0%	14%(4)
NO	23%(2)	37%(10)
D K	0%	14%(4)

3.1.4 Question 20: Have you ever seen or heard anything which gives you a positive image of the Irish?

Three categories were developed to code the positive responses to this question. 'Disposition' includes replies which commented on particular characteristics of the Irish as a people in a favourable way, for example, sociability; 'culture' groups all responses which refer to the customs/traditions of Ireland; while the 'Irish in Britain' category includes all those who mentioned the contribution of the Irish to British society. Others are coded as either 'no' or 'don't know'.

This is the first question in this section of the empirical study to produce a significant difference between the London and Liverpool samples. In the total sample 32% (21 out of 66) of the pupils stated that they had

not seen or heard anything which gave a positive image of the Irish (see table 10). However, these 21 pupils were distributed unevenly between the two samples. In London only 15% (4 out of 26) of the pupils answered negatively to this question; while in Liverpool 43% (17 out of 40) of the pupils said that they had never encountered anything which gave them a positive image of the Irish. This difference between the two samples is significant at the .05 level. (There were no significant differences within each sample.)

TABLE 10

PUPILS: POSITIVE IMAGES OF THE IRISH

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
DISPOSITION	39%(26)	46%(12)	35%(14)
CULTURE	15%(10)	15%(4)	15%(6)
IRISH IN BRITAIN	3%(2)	8%(2)	0%
D K	11%(7)	15%(4)	8%(3)
NO	32%(21)	15%(4)	43%(17)

3.1.5 Question 21: Do you think the Irish have mixed in well or not?

The replies to this question covered a spectrum from firm yes es to adamant noes. The coding categories, therefore, are: 'yes', 'contingent'

(where the degree to which the Irish had mixed in was thought to depend on the circumstances), 'no' and 'don't know'.

TABLE 11a

PUPILS: PERCEPTIONS OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE IRISH HAVE MIXED IN

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
YES	76%(50)	58%(15)	88%(35)
CONTINGENT	23%(15)	38%(10)	13%(5)
NO	2%(1)	4%(1)	0%
D K	0%	0%	0%

This question produced further significant differences in the responses between the sample in London and that in Liverpool. Three-quarters of the pupils, 76% (50 out of 66), said that they thought that the Irish had mixed in well in this country (see table 11a). In London this proportion was reduced to 58% (15 out of 26), but in Liverpool 88% (35 out of 40) of the pupils considered that the Irish had mixed in well. This difference between the pupils in London and Liverpool is significant at the .02 level. Another significant variation occurs amongst those who gave a contingent reponse. Just under a quarter of the total sample said that whether the Irish could be considered to have mixed in well depended on the circumstances. In London this proportion increased to 38% (10 out of 26), while in Liverpool only 13% (5 out of 40) thought it necessary to give a

contingent reponse. This difference between the pupils in London and Liverpool is significant at the .05 level.

An examination of the responses of the London pupils also revealed that there was a significant variation within that sample according to the identity of the pupils. Only 22% (2 out of 9) of the pupils who identified themselves as Irish said that the Irish had mixed in well in this country (see table 11b). In contrast 75% (9 out of 12) of those who selected being of Irish descent as their prime identity, and 80% (4 out of 5) of those who had selected a non-Irish identity thought that the Irish had mixed in well. This difference between the pupils who identified themselves as Irish and the rest of the London sample is significant at the .05 level. There were no significant differences between the responses of the Liverpool pupils.

TABLE 11b

LONDON PUPILS: PERCEPTIONS OF DEGREE TO WHICH THE IRISH HAVE MIXED IN ACCORDING TO PUPIL IDENTITY

Response	Identity		
	IRISH(9)	IRISH (12) DESCENT	OTHER IDENTITIES(5) (REG ID & BR/ENG)
YES	22%(2)	75%(9)	80%(4)
CONTINGENT	66%(6)	25%(3)	20%(1)
NO	11%(1)	0%	0%

3.1.6 Discussion

A question to ascertain how the respondents would know someone was Irish was included because of the widespread assumption that the Irish possess no distinguishing 'visible' characteristics other than speech. Overwhelmingly, 92% of the pupils said that they would know someone was Irish by their speech. Either the pupils referred to the accent of Irish people or to 'the way they talk'. This was an unsurprising finding. More interesting in the context of this thesis was that the second most cited means of distinguishing the Irish was 'appearance'. It was also interesting that this was more significant as a means of identification in London than in Liverpool. The pupils gave a range of replies to describe what they meant by appearance:

> You know the look, pot-bellied little thing.
>
> Looks - broad, ginger hair.
>
> Well built, red hair.
>
> My mum looks Irish - brown eyes, black hair.

But very often they found it hard to specify how they knew someone was Irish:

> Looks - just know by instinct.
>
> The look - don't know what it is.
>
> The way they look.
>
> 'The Irish Look'.
>
> The Look - I'd know you were Irish.

Looks - can tell someone's come from Ireland.

These responses indicate that some pupils do not need to rely on verbal or other information to determine if someone they meet is Irish. This indicates that it is possible to identify Irish people by their physical characteristics and set. The fact that significantly more London than Liverpool pupils referred to appearance as the means of identifying someone as Irish suggests that this is a skill acquired 'within the group'. The London pupils' replies also suggest that this process of recognition does not necessarily rely on explicit indicators, for example, red hair, but is frequently the result of tacit indicators, for example, 'The Look'.

The pupils were next asked a general question about how Irish people are treated in this country. Interestingly, there was very little difference in the responses of the London and Liverpool samples. Over half the pupils in each city considered that the treatment that Irish people experienced was discriminatory or was potentionally discriminatory. Those who gave the latter response described the contingencies which might determine varying experiences for the Irish in this country:

> Not talked to anyone Irish - some like them but others turn away from them.
>
> Some English treat the Irish okay - others say, they've come over here, this is England, so tough luck. Violence often happens if the Irish stick up for themselves. There are demonstrations saying 'Irish get out' - mixture of people on them - although not been many in Liverpool.
>
> A normal Irish person isn't treated okay, more like he's thick, but a boss is treated okay.
>
> Some are treated okay but some not - depends on the neighbourhood and what they're like. For example, welcome round here because there's quite a few.

> On the whole all right but do get harassment between Catholics and Protestants. Also Irish teachers here are skitted on their accent but so are others.
>
> Quite well but quite a bit of discrimination, for example, at Christmas because of Harrods. The high-class English look down their noses; there's discrimination especially in jobs.

The responses of the pupils who gave a contingent reply suggest that Irish people are often treated differently because of 1) stereotyping, 2) class or 3) Northern Ireland. However, they do not necessarily perceive this as how Irish people are always treated. The implication is that, if an English person is not prejudiced, or if the Irish person is middle class, or if there is a lull in events in Northern Ireland, then Irish people are treated better.

The pupils who said that Irish people are treated differently differed from the above group in that they viewed the treatment of the Irish as generally discriminatory. In London the comments of these pupils were as follows:

> Not that good - they make special laws for black people but not for the Irish and they should.
>
> They still treat the Irish differently because of the 'stupid' thing from the jokes.
>
> Not very well, English often have some bitterness towards the Irish for some reason, treat them like they don't belong.
>
> Not treated as well as coloured people, they get let off by the police because otherwise it would be called race discrimination. Whereas the Irish

> don't, are picked upon, for example, at Christmas time, coming out of pubs.
>
> Treated badly, the English would rather the Irish weren't here, even though they are in Northern Ireland. Black people seem to get more than the Irish who get less than anyone else from what I read in the paper.

In Liverpool the following comments were made by pupils who thought that the Irish are treated differently:

> People who reckon them stupid try and take advantage and charge them higher prices. Young lads think the Irish cause all the trouble.
>
> Don't get treated the same - get skitted all the time.
>
> Badly, making out they're peculiar all the time.
>
> Treated as if the English are better than them.
>
> Treated as though they are 'thick'.
>
> Very disliked because of the bombs and all the killing.

There is a difference in the tenor of the replies of the London and Liverpool pupils. The London pupils are more subjectively involved and tend to focus on the injustice of the different treatment which the Irish receive and the fact that this is often ignored. Their identification of black people as also experiencing discrimination is clear, but at the same time they express resentment that there is no equivalent official recognition of Irish people subject to differential treatment. This must, in part, reflect that they are living in an area where policies for ethnic

minorities have received much attention and these London pupils consider this has been to the exclusion of the Irish. On the other hand the Liverpool pupils are more distanced, reporting the different treatment the Irish receive, in their view, and relating it to the strength of the cultural stereotype that exists regarding the Irish as inferior and to the impact of Northern Ireland.

It is significant that in London those pupils who selected an Irish identity, and who also were working class, were much more likely to say that the Irish are not treated the same. This thesis has argued that it is the Irish Catholic working class who were the object of discrimination in the 19th century. The responses of these particular second-generation pupils in London suggest that it remains the Irish Catholics of a working-class background who are most likely to be aware of discrimination towards the Irish and to comment adversely about it. Significantly more of the middle-class pupils, and of those who did not select an Irish identity, said that they thought the Irish were treated the same as everyone else. In Liverpool it was the pupils who selected a Liverpudlian identity who were significantly more likely to respond that the treatment that the Irish receive is discriminatory or potentially discriminatory. This is all the more significant as this grouping forms the largest element in the Liverpool sample and, therefore, more variation might be expected. It will be remembered that in response to question 12 all of the pupils who selected a Liverpudlian identity answered that they thought all Irish people would find Irish jokes problematic. If their replies to this question are considered in conjunction with those earlier responses, there is a strong suggestion of the implicit affiliation of 'Scousers' of Irish descent for Irish people. The different replies in London and Liverpool to this question, however, highlight the differences that exist in being Irish/of Irish descent in the two cities.

The next question asked the respondents whether they had personally seen or heard anything directed against the Irish to which they objected. It was intended to act as a check to see if there were any divergences between the replies to this and the previous question. In fact, a similar proportion of the pupils answered yes to this question as had stated that

the Irish are not treated the same in the last question. However, a smaller proportion said they had not witnessed anything objectionable than had thought that the Irish are treated the same. This is because there were a number of 'don't knows', particularly in London, compared with none in response to question 14.

Amongst the pupils who said that they had seen or heard something objectionable there was a preponderance of examples which have been classified as 'political'. In London the pupils said:

> Some think the Irish go around blowing up people because of Northern Ireland and drink.
>
> Recently heard two old ladies saying all the Irish should be sent back. I felt angry, it was insulting.
>
> The law which means they can go into any Irish house, can use it against others but don't, only the Irish. For some black fellas you're low if you're Irish, but if you say anything about them have you up in front of the teachers.
>
> When the government said they might take the vote from the Irish.
>
> When they say 'Get all the Irish out of England' around my way.
>
> The writing on walls, 'Irish get out', gets you because a lot of Irish have nothing to do with the IRA.
>
> Some say 'Those bloody Irish', say bad things against the Irish.

> Some groups want all other nationalities thrown out - that would be my mum and dad.

In Liverpool the following were typical of the comments:

> Blaming the Irish as a whole for killing all the soldiers, in fact just the IRA and other groups doing it.

> Yes, all about the IRA, when people say it's just the Irish. There's people in Ireland fighting against the Irish.

> Don't like the way everyone thinks it's a trouble country, lots think that.

> People saying that they are a load of 'bomb happy idiots' and obviously not all of them are.

> Making out all Ireland's bad because of the IRA.

> Yes, when after a bombing people say 'put all the Irish on Ireland and blow it up'.

> Way they're always going on about the IRA and UDA. Other countries have big fights and you hardly hear anything of them.

> Yes, the media making out Ireland is the worst place for fighting, but we had the same in the Falklands and they didn't make it out like that.

> People think it's all the fault of the Irish about Northern Ireland and I think Britain has got to accept some responsibility. People speaking full of hatred for the Irish.

In London the pupils feel the insults personally, as indicated by the use of pro-nominals. They comment on the type of State action taken or threatened against the Irish and on the absence of recourse to official censure for actions or remarks against the Irish. They perceive the Irish as deprived of common citizenship, whereas in Liverpool the pupils are speaking out against the injustice of bracketing all Irish people together as 'violent' and 'trouble'. They are speaking up for a group of people separate from themselves but about whom they know sufficient to identify the circulation of a stereotype.

In London the evidence suggests that it is the working-class pupils who are more likely to state that they have seen or heard something to which they objected directed against the Irish. They describe other instances in addition to those outlined above:

> Irish are downgraded job-wise, all assumed to be labourers. In fact the Irish have set up a lot of businesses.
>
> A lot of people think the Irish are stupid - think that because of the work they do like building - it's not true.
>
> All sorts of things - my mum is a cashier and people comment about her having such a job because she is Irish. She thinks it's stupid.
>
> Most see Irishmen as 'Paddies', pubs all night and drunk - lots of English and Scottish go to pubs.

These objections further reinforce the argument that it is the Irish working class in Britain who continue to be the recipients of hostility and subject to discrimination.

In Liverpool the vast majority who objected to something directed against the Irish cited instances to do with Northern Ireland. The middle-

class pupils were significantly more likely to make these comments. This is interesting because, in the previous questions in this section of the interview, the main factor to produce variation was selected regional identity. When the pupils were asked about the impact of Irish jokes, or about the treatment of the Irish in this country, it was the 'Liverpudlians' who were most likely either to think the Irish would object to them or to consider that the Irish were not treated the same. However, when it came to a question which asked for personal examples, it is the middle class who stand out as referring to objectionable instances. The majority of the Liverpool sample are both working class and select a Liverpudlian identity and nearly half of them said 'no' or 'don't know' in response to this question. The seeming discrepancy between their answers to this question compared to the earlier ones could suggest either that, compared with the middle-class pupils in Liverpool the working-class pupils come across significantly fewer instances of anti-Irish hostility, or the existence on their part of a defensive stance towards Liverpool. It may be possible to explore this matter further in the analysis of the remaining questions in this section of the interview.

One further point of note with respect to the Liverpool sample is that a small number of the pupils, on being asked if they had ever seen or heard anything objectionable directed against the Irish, immediately related incidents involving anti-Catholicism in the city:

> Yes, I used to live around here when I was about five years old and I remember Orange parades and people telling us we shouldn't be allowed. This was the mid-70s.

> Yes, only the other week a lad at the top of our street who had joined the cadets and he'd spoken to Ian Paisley in Northern Ireland, he was talking about the Pope saying he thought he was God. He was an extremist.

In these examples anti-Catholicism is assumed to represent anti-Irish hostility. The fact that only a small number of pupils cited such instances could reflect both the relative decline of overt expressions of anti-Catholicism in Liverpool in recent years and the fact that many of the pupils did not frequent Orange areas in the city, although both schools were located near such an area.

In the next question, which asked pupils if they had ever seen or heard anything which gave them a positive image of the Irish, there was a significant split between the two samples. The pupils in London were much more likely to say yes compared with those in Liverpool. The majority of the London pupils live in one of the main Irish areas in the city and, as the discussion in chapter seven revealed, their cultural practices ensure that many of them are in frequent contact with a range of Irish people and institutions. In addition, the prevalence of annual visits to Ireland amongst the London pupils was argued to be a significant factor in the formation of their identity. The comments of the London sample included a variety of positive images of the Irish. The following are typical examples:

> They'll do jobs the English wouldn't - hard workers.
>
> Irish helped build this country - roads and railways.
>
> Good to people.
>
> Merry and jolly.
>
> Friendly, people who don't know you speak to you in Ireland, really nice.
>
> Stick together - help each other a lot.

> Way they stick together, jokey attitude, but serious when called for, fairer attitude to things.
>
> Kind-hearted and welcome you - don't give the impression of being rough or violent.
>
> Very nice, help you on your homework, give you money when you visit.

The images of the Irish presented are of being friendly, hospitable, generous and fun-loving, underpinned by hard work and a tendency to stick together and look after their own. These images are of the Irish as a group and reflect the London pupils' familiarity with many Irish people.

In Liverpool 50% of the pupils said 'no' or 'don't know' in answer to this question. The Liverpool pupils who answered 'yes' often quoted specific examples of individuals or things that they had heard which meant they had formed a positive image of the Irish:

> Good laughs, have a joke with them.
>
> They always say Irish are dead good to get on with and very kind.
>
> All brainy: our ancestors, my mother said they were in the board of education. My grandmother knows all kinds about it right back to 1840s. The best thing about the Irish is the saints, they're so holy. We've got a rosary with shamrock stones.
>
> When I told Irish jokes mum and dad told me all those clever people like Montgomery were Irish.
>
> My cousin's wife is Irish, she's dead nice, friendly, helps everyone.

> Take the jokes well - friendly, good personalities.
>
> The way they commit themselves to something - when we had church groups a lot of Irish helped, not many English did.
>
> My mate's grandmother was evacuated in Ireland and she said that they were marvellous.

The Liverpool responses suggest that a general silence exists in Liverpool about Ireland and the Irish antecedents of the city. Consequently, it requires specific contact or hearsay in order for an individual to acquire a positive image of the Irish. This is particularly the case given the reported predominance of Irish jokes in the city.

Three-quarters of the pupils stated in answer to question 17 that they think that the Irish have mixed in well. This compares with two-fifths of the pupils in answer to an earlier question, asking how the Irish are treated, stating that the Irish are treated the same. In London significantly fewer pupils than in Liverpool thought the Irish had mixed in well. Also, within the London sample significantly fewer of those who selected Irish as their identity considered that the Irish had mixed in well. This group of pupils were more likely to interpret the question in terms of the conditions the Irish encountered in this country and whether the Irish felt constrained to stick together or not:

> Some have and some haven't - it depends on the way the English treat them.
>
> Dad just wants Irish friends, mum likes the English as well.
>
> Still live separately but mixed in other ways, at work.
>
> Not really, for example there's alot of Irish clubs.

> Mix - but tend to hang around other Irish - because they want to and it's easier.
>
> Go to own pubs.
>
> All right, but still Irish parts and Jewish parts.
>
> Middle class have but I don't think the other class have.

These pupils do not think the issue depends solely on the propensity of the Irish to be good mixers. Their replies indicate that other factors can determine the response of Irish people to living in Britain. The implication is that living and socialising separately are not just the consequence of an inevitable tendency to stick together. It is easier to frequent Irish pubs and clubs and live in Irish areas. This does not necessarily apply to all Irish people, but might especially be the view of the working class and of those who have experienced hostility in this country.

Significantly more pupils in Liverpool than in London said that the Irish have mixed in well. The following are typical of the responses in Liverpool:

> Merge in easily in Liverpool - Dad would say so.
>
> Mostly become Liverpudlians.
>
> Most become Liverpudlians - but I've got an aunt who is very pro-Irish.
>
> All mixed in together in Liverpool - anyone can go in the Irish Centre here.
>
> They do have the Irish Centre but have mixed in with Scousers.

> Just a part of Liverpool.
>
> Yes, in Liverpool.
>
> Yes, blacks don't mix in down the south end, whereas Irish do more because not so different because everyone here has a bit of Irish but don't know it.

These replies imply the affinity between Liverpool and the Irish in that it is assumed that the Irish mix in easily in Liverpool and this is because 'everyone here has a bit of Irish' in them. But at the same time the replies illustrate that in Liverpool to mix in the Irish have to 'become Liverpudlians' and lose their Irish identity. An aunt who is 'very pro-Irish' is not a Liverpudlian. The necessity to acquire a 'Scouse' identity explains why, despite having a bit of Irish in them, most Liverpudlians 'don't know it'.

3.2 THE TEACHERS

3.2.1 Question 17: How would you know someone was Irish when you meet them?

TABLE 12

TEACHERS: RECOGNITION FACTORS OF IRISHNESS

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
SPEECH	74% (29)	77% (10)	70% (7)	75% (12)
NAME	21% (8)	23% (3)	20% (2)	19% (3)
APPEARANCE	64% (25)	69% (9)	70% (7)	56% (9)
BEHAVIOUR	18% (7)	15% (2)	20% (2)	19% (3)
IDEOLOGY	15% (6)	15% (2)	20% (2)	13% (2)
SOCIAL CLASS	10% (4)	23% (3)	0%	6% (1)

As with the pupils, the most often cited means by which the teachers said that they knew someone was Irish was by their speech. 74% (29 out of 39) of the staff gave this response (see table 12). The second most cited means, as was with the pupils, was 'appearance'. However, a far greater proportion of the teachers, 64% (25 out of 39), compared with the pupils,

27% (18 out of 66), gave this response. This difference between the pupils and the teachers is significant at the .001 level.

3.2.2 Question 18: How do you think the Irish are treated in this country?

TABLE 13

TEACHERS: PERCEPTIONS OF THE TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
SAME	33% (13)	15% (2)	30% (3)	50% (8)
CONTINGENT	51% (20)	69% (9)	60% (6)	31% (5)
DIFFERENTLY	16% (6)	15% (2)	10% (1)	19% (3)
D K	0%	0%	0%	0%

Two-thirds of the teachers, 67% (26 out of 39), thought that the Irish are treated differently from other people in this country to one degree or another (see table 13), while one-third, 33% (13 out of 39), of the staff considered that Irish people are treated the same as everyone else. There is a suggested variation in the responses of the teachers according to the identity which they had selected. Only 15% (2 out of 13) of the Irishness primary group thought that the Irish were treated the same as everyone else. On the other hand, 50% (8 out of 16) of the Irishness absent group thought that there was no difference in the treatment that Irish people

received. The response of the Irishness secondary group lay between these two groups. The difference between the response of the Irishness primary group and the Irishness absent group is significant only when using a one-tail test. However, it indicates that it might be worth following up this line of inquiry in a study with a larger sample.

Just as the Irishness absent group formed the largest grouping of those who thought the Irish were treated the same, so they formed the smallest group, 31% (5 out of 16) of those who viewed the treatment of the Irish as contingent on the context. In contrast, 69% (9 out of 13) of the Irishness primary group and 60% (6 out of 10) of the Irishness secondary group thought the treatment of the Irish was contingent on the circumstances. Although this difference is also only significant on a one-tail test, it is interesting because of the reverse trend it reveals when compared with the variation noted above.

3.2.3 Question 19: Have you ever seen or heard anything directed against Irish people which you objected to?

A large majority of the teachers, 83% (32 out of 39), said that they had seen or heard something which they objected to directed against the Irish (see table 14). Only 15% (6 out of 39) said they had not and 3% (1 out of 39) did not know. The responses to this question produced a number of significant variations between the staff. 93% (12 out of 13) of the Irishness primary group and 100% (10 out of 10) of the Irishness secondary group said they had seen or heard something derogatory towards the Irish. Amongst the Irishness absent group the proportion giving this response was reduced to 61% (10 out of 16). This difference between the Irishness absent group and the teachers who selected an Irish identity as of some relevance to them was significant at the .05 level. However, when the negative replies to this question are compared, the differences are even more striking. None of the teachers who chose an Irish identity as either of primary or secondary significance stated that they had not seen or heard anything directed against the Irish; whereas 36% (6 out of 16) of the Irishness absent group answered in the negative to this question. This

difference between the Irishness absent group and the rest of the teachers is significant at the .02 level (zero in cell).

TABLE 14

TEACHERS: OBJECTIONS TO TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
YES/POLITICAL	34% (13)	31% (4)	50% (5)	25% (4)
YES/STEREOTYPING	49% (19)	62% (8)	50% (5)	36% (6)
NO	15% (6)	0%	0%	36% (6)
D K	3% (1)	8% (1)	0%	0%

3.2.4 Question 20: Have you ever seen or heard anything which gives you a positive image of Irish people?

All but two of the teachers interviewed, 96% (37 out of 39), said that they had heard or seen something which gave them a positive image of Irish people (see table 15). This is considerably more than the 57% (38 out of 66) of the pupils who answered yes to this question. This difference between the teachers and the pupils is significant at the .001 level. There was no significant difference in the spread of reasons which the staff gave for their positive image of the Irish.

TABLE 15

TEACHERS: POSITIVE IMAGES OF THE IRISH

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
YES/DISPOSITION	31% (12)	31% (4)	40% (4)	25% (4)
YES/CULTURE	44% (17)	38% (5)	40% (4)	50% (8)
YES/IRISH IN BRITAIN	21% (8)	31% (4)	20% (20	13% (2)
D K	0%	0%	0%	0%
NO	4% (2)	0%	0%	13% (2)

3.2.5 Question 21: Do you think the Irish have mixed in well here or not?

Just under two-thirds of the teachers, 63% (25 out of 39), said either that they did not think that the Irish had mixed in or that they thought it depended on the context (see table 16). One-third of the teachers, (13 out of 39), thought that the Irish had mixed in well. There was, however, a significant difference in the responses of the teachers according to the identity they had selected. Only 8% (1 out of 13) of the Irishness primary group stated that the Irish had mixed in well, while 50% (5 out of 10) of the Irishness secondary group and 44% (7 out of 16) of the Irishness absent group considered that they had mixed in. This difference between the Irishness primary group and the rest of the teachers is significant at the

.05 level.

TABLE 16

TEACHERS: PERCEPTIONS OF DEGREE TO WHICH THE IRISH HAVE MIXED IN

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
YES	34% (13)	8% (1)	50% (5)	44% (7)
CONTINGENT	43% (17)	54% (7)	30% (3)	44% (7)
NO	20% (8)	31% (4)	20% (2)	13% (2)
D K	3% (1)	8% (1)	0%	0%

3.2.6 Discussion

When asked how they would know someone was Irish, three-quarters of the teachers reported that speech would be the distinguishing feature, but nearly two-thirds said that they would know someone was Irish by their appearance. The staff had a more detailed typology of Irish physical characteristics and were more likely to utilise a number of different indicators of someone being Irish than the pupils:

> Looks, big red face, ginger hair. I can pick them out.

Accent and looks. Men have fair complexions, rugged and long sidelocks. Women are more difficult to identify but generally red hair and fair skin.

Accent, mine's been commented on. Looks, I recognise them, hard to say how.

Looks - good pinky complexion, blue eyes, black or red hair. Accent and their willingness to talk openly, friendly.

Stereotypes - red cheeks, donkey jackets, lurching about. Where people live, for example Kilburn is a 'Little Ireland'.

Accent, name and looks - dark hair, light eyes, fresh complexion.

The Look - dark hair and fair skin, red hair and freckles. Way they speak, expressions.

Accent if Irish born. Looks if of Irish descent, red or black hair and fair skin. Certain facial and verbal expressions.

Looks - fair skin, red or black hair, curly, freckles. Working clothes.

Way an Irishman puts his hands in his pockets, with jacket riding up. A certain manner, way of holding himself, I'm commenting on men I've worked on sites with. Irish women are always carrying shopping.

Accent and looks - dark hair and fresh complexion. Ease of manner and charm.

The quotations convey the consistency of the indicators of physical identification employed by the teachers. Primarily it is facial characteristics: red or black hair, possibly curly; pale skin or a fair complexion with red cheeks and freckles; light coloured eyes. The 'Irish look' is however more than the sum of these parts. Some of the teachers, as did the pupils, suggested that this is difficult to define. Knowing someone is Irish obviously rests to some extent on empathic recognition. The descriptions of facial features are interwoven with references to Irish economic and cultural characteristics which are reflected in appearance: many of the descriptions are of the working class, clothes, behaviour and mannerisms are taken to denote this; and there are references to the disposition of the Irish, happy, smiling and friendly, being observable in their 'open' faces.

In answer to the next question it emerged that two-thirds of the teachers think that the treatment of the Irish in this country is discriminatory or potentially discriminatory. The latter formed the largest response. The following extracts indicate the contexts in which the teachers considered discriminatory treatment is most likely to be manifest:

> On an individual basis the Irish are treated all right but overall the Irish are ignored and treated as not matching up to the English. It stems from history, English don't know why the Irish are here and think they ought to be grateful. I think that's all wrong.

> Quite well socially, it no longer carries the stigma it used to be introduced as Irish. But at societal level, Catholics, Republicans and the Irish all lumped together as an evil mix.

> Depends where you are and what you're doing. I'm not in an Irish circle out of school, get treated as an individual except for throwaway remarks get

> caught in. Groups of Irish are treated as less than individual Irish.
>
> In the main as rather inferior persons as a group, individuals especially if of high status are treated differently.

The teachers above describe a situation in which there is a disjunction between the treatment an individual will experience compared with manner in which the Irish as a group are viewed. Other teachers think where Irish people live is an important factor:

> Living in Liverpool and around here there's a very dominant Irish influence, I imagine in other areas they suffer prejudice. That's happened to friends of mine in Birmingham.
>
> It varies from not so good to quite good. It depends on where living, working and who they are. Not treated well in a political sense because of IRA.
>
> Hard to answer because this is a very Irish area and so it is at home. It must be different elsewhere, some Irish Catholic friends of mine live in Dorset and they say it's awful, they feel different there. There's a lot of religious prejudice still. If you marry a Catholic like a friend of mine, her parents really objected.
>
> Haven't come across out right prejudice except the jokes. The Irish are tolerated. The English way is everyone treated with contempt unless threatened by them. Irish acquiesce and stay in their own areas and feel unsafe when outside.

Other teachers, all living in Liverpool, emphasised the role of events in Northern Ireland in determining how the Irish are treated:

> I move in a restricted circle either completely accepted or amusement, I don't know if the latter was there before the troubles. Treated fairly politely on the whole but that doesn't mean feel polite about them. I think tolerance is there towards the Irish and people know they're not all responsible for what's happening. The British are usually polite but in feelings there is resentment and prejudice. People still talk about Irish neutrality in the war. Irish people live out their social lives in Catholic Irish circles.
>
> In my circles are accepted as well as any English person but varies with the news. People are uptight with the bombings, say 'again the Irish' and people say 'I'm ashamed to be Irish' then.
>
> Hope they see themselves as equals, but of late have felt more threatened because of the bombings and the vote.

These responses suggest a scenario in which Irish people are able to go about their lives in Britain as long as they observe certain constraints; maintaining a low profile about being Irish facilitates matters. To feel easy about being Irish in Britain it seems necessary to live in Irish areas or go to Irish clubs and pubs and other Irish functions. Despite these precautions, the reactions that news from Northern Ireland elicits can often pierce these shields.

The small group of teachers who said that the Irish are subject to different treatment as a general rule attribute this to a particular view of the Irish being endemic in Britain:

If you take everything into account I suppose quite well compared to West Indians and Asians but I think they're still second class-citizens. Many here wouldn't agree. The deputy head's wife was having a baby, due the 19th of March, and I said, 'if you're lucky it might come two days early', and she said, 'don't say that, Chris would kill me'. There's quite strong anti-Irishness here but on the other hand a lot of the young teachers have now become very aware of their Irishness. I stood for staff representative on the Governors body and lost by one vote. One person remarked that he might have voted for me if I hadn't been so strongly Irish.

It's not South Africa or Alabama, England is basically decent and any other country would have done more in Northern Ireland. But is a cultural pressure, a basic loathing, it takes a lot to resist it and remain true to your culture. Irish culture is dying because of the loss of the language, while English culture is thriving.

Is discrimination still, an assumption is made that they're of lower intelligence, it affects job prospects. Difficult to answer because I'm not objective. Don't have as rough a time as black immigrants but still prejudice, for example, all the hostility against the Irish Centre in Brent.

Within Catholic education circles equally but outside there's a sense that they are inferior, people believe the jokes.

It is the strength of the stereotype of the Irish which many of the teachers implicitly describe.

The teachers who selected Irish as their primary identity were significantly more likely to assert that the Irish are treated differently. This group comprises teachers either born in Ireland or of Irish descent whose Irish identity is consequently to the forefront. It is not surprising that these teachers are both aware of and impelled to comment on the pressures against the expression of Irishness and on the conditions upon which Irish settlement in Britain is based. A third of the teachers said that the Irish are treated the same. These teachers were significantly more likely to be those who did not select an Irish identity. The hypothesis here is that this group, who are all of Irish descent except for one person born in Northern Ireland, are less likely to perceive discriminatiory practices or to discern the reported constraints determining living in Britain for many Irish people.

The findings in the next question suggest that this hypothesis is substantiated. On being asked whether they had ever seen or heard anything directed against the Irish which they found objectionable, only teachers who had not selected an Irish identity said no. In addition, all of the teachers who said no were from middle-class backgrounds. This reinforces the trend that emerged from the London pupils' replies, that it was those from a working-class background who were more likely to report having observed examples of discrimination. Significantly more of the teachers who had selected an Irish identity as primary or secondary said they had witnessed or heard something to which they objected. It is interesting that, in response to this question which inquired about the teachers' own experience, the Irishness secondary group are as adament as the Irishness primary group. Whereas in the last question which required a comment on general practices concerning the Irish in this country, the responses of the Irishness secondary group lay between those of the other two groups.

The objections described by the teachers can be divided into two categories. There are those that are explicitl y political:

> When I was at another school we went to France for a weekend and the Customs officer took the French assistant aside and said did he know he

was harbouring three Irish people - it was just after a bombing.

Police activity, their harassment generally, not just in relation to the PTA. I've known people worked over because thought of as dumb and stupid Irish. At the time of PC Tibble, 27 detained and one disappeared without trace. I had to deal with the Special Branch to get him back. This sort of thing has happened many times.

The lack of proceedings against the prison officers who beat up those arrested for the Birmingham bombings.

When threatened to take the vote away from the Irish.

The Orange Lodge community see anything to do with Ireland as disloyal or treasonable. Therefore, anyone supporting Republicanism could be subject to violence. The Orange Lodge community abuse Troops Out demonstrations, as do the National Front. I heard comments at the time of the Falklands of 'typical of the Irish' or 'don't lose an opportunity to stab Britain in the back'.

An Orange Lodge procession - had things thrown at me on Orange Lodge Day. At this school, we walked on St Julie's feast day up to St Mary Immaculate in the heart of the lodge territory, we had things thrown at us including a kettle from the flats above. A lot has subsided, some catholics quite enjoy going to watch lodge parades now.

> Remarks about Northern Ireland. I was pushed off a bus in Hammersmith by a man who recognised my voice. I think I've consciously changed my voice, my family really notice it when I go back. In my first year teaching I was mimicked by one terrible fifth-year class, I nearly gave up. When people make remarks they say they don't mean me if I protest, it becomes embarrassing. A lot of people deposit a group identity on the Irish as they do the Germans or the Americans, though that's a fairly typical human thing.
>
> Conversations on buses - to do with the IRA, people classify all the Irish the same.
>
> I was very aware of hostility at university if I expressed my opinions.

The above remarks focus either on specific incidents that the teachers have been involved in or on what they have heard people say, not knowing they might have Irish connections. Many of the incidents described are examples of the discriminatory treatment of the Irish referred to in answer to the previous question.

The other group of objections related to stereotyped conceptions of the Irish that are not directly political. Half the sample of teachers gave this type of response:

> If someone said something anti-Irish I'd defend, but you get caught because it mostly comes out as asides, you're accused of getting het up. A boy who'd come back from Ireland was being discussed here and someone said 'due for the remedial department now'. The head looked at me and I commented that I didn't know what that meant, and the head said he didn't either and we moved on.

> Hundreds of things. For example, the nastier jokes, which are based on a felonious premise or are based on something true about Ireland but the person telling it has no reason to be superior. Same happens to blacks. Liverpool is prone to this superiority as everyone thinks it's the best place on earth. Dublin is a smaller city than Liverpool but because it's a capital city there's far more going on and people here think they can look down on things Irish.
>
> I've come across utter unreasoning prejudice against the Irish - it angers me greatly.
>
> Yes, on a personal level, my mother's attitude to my boyfriend: that he will be of a particular type. (Her father died at 8 years.) He was born in Cork but came here in his teens. She's resigned to it now as I'm getting married next summer. I get on with his family.
>
> Yes, the idea that all the Irish are stupid, terribly untrue. I always speak up.

These comments reveal the extent to which stereotyped views of the Irish are embedded in British culture. In response to the previous question, only a small proportion of the teachers had asserted that the Irish are generally treated differently because of a particular view of the Irish endemic in Britain. Here 49 of the teachers, when asked whether they have seen or heard anything which they objected to, give replies that suggest the existence of just such endemic stereotypes. The comments are also interesting in that they indicate the means by which stereotyped views about the Irish are generated unaided by the immediate situation in Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland activates the stereotype of all Irish being violent and treasonable. But in daily discourse it is the stereotype of the Irish as stupid which is most prevalent. This is the substance of

all the jokes, as the pupils and teachers described in answer to earlier questions in this section of the interview. The respondents' comments suggest that people believe the jokes or rather the jokes thrive because people think the Irish are inferior in this sense. These stereotypes may frame crucial moments such as the allocation of a child to an appropriate class in school or the reception of a prospective member of a family.

All but two of the teachers said they had seen or heard something which conveyed a positive image of the Irish:

> I find the Irish very friendly, able to laugh at themselves and not offended as other groups might be. I saw a programme about education in Belfast which said levels of intelligence were higher, kids saw school as a haven and worked hard to get qualifications to get out - that's in Protestant and Catholic schools.
>
> Very pleasant people, easy going, open and willing to work.
>
> I've never known anyone who's not had a fantastic time in Ireland and I've never met an Irish person I've not liked.
>
> Easy going, take life a bit easy, I like their attitude.
>
> Marvellous conversationalists, kind, very polite, super hosts and fluent talkers.
>
> Their self image has improved, to do with identified image of hard work. Exuberance and resilience.

It is obvious from the comments that most teachers had a acquired a

positive image of the Irish because the sample is made up of people of Irish descent plus a small number born in Ireland. Thus they have access, or had at some point in their lives, to a form of contact with Irish people not customary in this country. The comments made fell into three broad categories: disposition; culture; and observations on the role of the Irish in Britain. The following are examples of responses depicting the dispostion of the Irish favourably. These and other respondents referred to an attitude to life and a set of priorities which they associate with the Irish and find appealing. It involves being friendly, hospitable and easy going. However, this attitude to life is underscored by a disposition towards hard work which is admired.

Another group of respondents emphasised the group solidarity of the Irish as well as some of the above characteristics:

> Help their own people a lot. Better entertainers. England is very timed whereas for the Irish a few hours either way doesn't matter.

> Strong link of unity and identity amongst Irish here, though can get a false impression in Brent compared with Liverpool. There the Irish organisations are less positive but always assumed Irish background of most up there.

> Sense of community, willing to help one another, an inverted 'old boys system'.

> Contribute to community life, involved in lots of things, take a full part in Parent Teachers Association. Involved in caring programmes, also as doctors and nurses a more personal interest.

A number of other respondents commented specifically on the role of the Irish in Britain:

Spirit, have a lot to contribute, although do keep to ghettos because they don't trust the English. Don't have a life-enhancing existence in those circumstances, don't contribute much.

The Irish have made a massive contribution to this country at every level, from the navvies to Callaghan and Healey. What does it do for the Irish? Gives them work, they are able to better themselves but at the cost of their cultural origins. George Brown was the son of an Irish railwayman.

Ability to work, building of all the roads here in the past, now done by West Indians. The Catholic Church survives on Irish vocations.

Amongst the second-generation Irish in this country there is often a positive desire to better themselves - coming from strong family and values - and these children have often been very successful. Irish traditional culture is quite strong in Irish communities here. We go to the Irish Centre and there are lots of kids at the classes. My daughter goes, needed a bit of pressure at first but now she enjoys playing the fiddle.

Irish influence in education, it's one of discipline and order. This was mentioned at a headteachers meeting only yesterday when it was mentioned that non-Catholics in Catholic schools had gone up from 3 per cent to 6 per cent - personified by the Irish Christian Brothers. Irish families tend to be dominated by the man, tends to be an autocratic attitude to discipline. If they're Irish born will be very keen on education because were very poor

> and this true of immigrants generally, but diminishing through the generations.
>
> Their positions in the building industry and nursing. And Irish humour.

The emphasis of these respondents is on the contribution made by the Irish in Britain, especially through their construction of the industrial infrastructure, their political involvement, their participation in the Church and in the provision of Catholic education. There is some difference over whether this is necessarily at the cost of their Irish identity.

When it came to considering whether the Irish had mixed in well in this country, far fewer of the teachers compared with the pupils interpreted this question in terms of how good the Irish were at mixing. Consequently their emphasis was on the particular contexts in which the Irish found themselves. Even amongst the teachers who said that the Irish had 'mixed in' this was often qualified with reference to that being the case only in specific areas:

> Mixed in in Liverpool - even five years ago the Irish Centre was very popular as Irish wanted their own place, now it has difficulty getting people, maybe because of Northern Ireland.
>
> Yes, in Liverpool, don't think twice hearing an Irish accent here.
>
> Yes, in Scotland - easier for the Irish because the same colour and culture not terribly different.
>
> Yes, but are small ghettos who haven't, for example, Cricklewood - myself and others in Harrow have.

The implication of these comments is that the Irish have 'mixed in' in areas where many Irish people have settled, for example Liverpool, or where cultural similarities exist, for example Scotland, or as a result of upward mobility, for example living in Harrow rather than Cricklewood.

It is interesting that a large majority of the teachers who thought the degree to which the Irish have mixed in was contingent on the context, considered the context to be that of social class:

> It varies, those who integrate best, for example my two sisters, change their accents and live in fairly affluent areas. It is a class thing much of the time.
>
> The Irish are fairly willing to integrate though it varies with class, middle class are more integrated. Sad it's that way now - same for the indigenous working class, lose their class identity as they do better.
>
> Professional people who haven't played down their Irishness , have seen themselves as an example of the Irish not being stupid. Most assimilated are manual workers in car factories in the Midlands, not an 'Irish type' occupation.
>
> Integrated compared with West Indians because of colour, though it depends on the area how well they mix. Round here its good between black and Irish. Irish still meet prejudice I'm sure away from Irish areas. A friend of mine works in the city and the personnel manager automatically discards any application from someone who is Irish.
>
> Most have, the exception is the 'tinker class'.

These responses suggest a complex relationship between social class, area of residence and identity. Irish areas or ghettos are predominantly associated with the working-class migrants and their descendents. Living in such areas is viewed either as representing an unwillingness to integrate or as being a defensive response to the prejudice encountered by Irish people in Britain. The implication is that if Irish people move out to middle-class areas they do 'mix in' more because either they have been upwardly mobile or because they deny their Irishness in specific ways. This is interpreted either as denoting the willingness of the Irish to mix in or as evidence, that in order to be accepted, it is necessary for Irish people to jettison their national allegiences as part of the process of becoming middle class. Significantly more of the respondents who selected an Irish identity as primary cited the denial of Irishness, whereas the Irishness secondary and Irishness absent groups are more likely to view this as due to an Irish willingness to mix.

A fifth of the teachers were categorical that the Irish had not mixed in, other processes were involved. The following are typical of their comments:

> Have assimilated on condition that they lose their cultural identity. There is no long-term future to being of Irish descent, your children are English.
>
> Let their culture slip and then they do, for example, my grandparents were Gaelic speakers but didn't bother to teach my parents.
>
> In Birmingham the Irish clubs and areas are another world - I mix fairly freely there - my parents are established there but I don't know how content with city life.
>
> The Irish always talk of 'going home', there's always a distance. I don't think they're integrated,

> there is an awareness of not belonging, of being tolerated.
>
> Assimilation will never totally take place, more society not accepting them than their efforts to remain distinct.

These responses interpret 'mixing in' as assimilation and either detect it occurring on the basis of complete loss of identity or think that it will never occur because of a general non-acceptance of the Irish: hence the necessity to lose Ireland, their culture and identity if they are to 'mix in well'.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The interviews with the pupils and staff confirm the widespread currency of anti-Irish jokes. The jokes constantly regenerate the stereotype of the Irish as 'stupid'. The pupils were split on whether they viewed the jokes as problematic or not. Working-class pupils in London were the group most likely to object to them. Amongst the teachers it was those who had selected Irish as their primary identity who were most likely to object to the jokes. Teachers who had not selected an Irish identity were far more likely to consider the jokes to be harmless fun.

Significantly more of the teachers than the pupils thought Irish people would accept the jokes. However, many of the teachers suspected that Irish people did not necessarily reveal their true reactions to the jokes. The pupils assumed the jokes would be offensive to most Irish people. Interestingly, both the teachers and the pupils stated that it is the content which would determine their own reaction to a particular joke, whereas both groups thought that with Irish people generally the reaction to the jokes would be determined by the attitude of the listener towards them. This suggests that the pressure to accept the jokes and the derogatory view of the Irish they entail is strong. The pupils and

teachers only described the wider context of the jokes being influential when they were considering a situation distanced from themselves.

According to both the pupils and teachers speech is the chief identifier of someone as Irish. The London pupils and the staff also cited physical appearance as an important means by which they would identify someone as Irish. Consequently, for those who know the 'Irish Look', the Irish are clearly visible. Working-class pupils in London are likely to have seen or heard something directed at the Irish to which they objected. The pupils in London who selected an Irish identity were most likely to articulate that the Irish are subject to discrimination and have not 'mixed in' with the wider populace. The Liverpool pupils in general asserted that the Irish have 'mixed in' in the city. The pupils who selected a Liverpudlian identity were most likely to consider that the Irish are treated differently in this country. However, the middle-class pupils in Liverpool were most likely to cite individual instances of objectionable behaviour towards the Irish.

The responses of the teachers reveal the consistency with which selected identity is the significant determinant of views about the treatment of the Irish and the extent to which they have 'mixed in'. Those who selected Irish as their primary or secondary identity were most likely to have witnessed something objectionable directed against the Irish. The Irishness primary group were most likely to articulate that the Irish are subject to discrimination and consequently have not 'mixed in'. The teachers who did not select an Irish identity were significantly less likely to consider that the Irish are treated differently and more likely to think they have 'mixed in'. In addition, they were less likely to report witnessing anything objectionable.

The findings presented in this chapter suggest that the pressure on the Irish to adopt a low profile about their Irishness continues to be strong. The responses of the London pupils who selected an Irish identity and of the Irishness primary group of the staff reveal that a strong Irish identity is required to name these pressures and to be critical of them. The responses of the teachers who did not select an Irish identity are

evidence of the success of the incorporation process. The Irishness secondary group amongst the teachers were able to cite innumerable individual examples of discrimination towards the Irish but were less likely to generalise from this situation than the Irishness primary group. The Liverpool pupils' responses yield both further evidence of Liverpudlianism as a transitional identiy and of the specific features of the process of incorporating the Irish in Liverpool.

CHAPTER TEN

FINDINGS: CATHOLICISM, CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND IRISH IDENTITY

1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the responses of the pupils and teachers to the questions about Catholicism and Catholic schools. The aim of this section of the interview is to explore certain aspects of the relationship between Catholism and Irish identity in this country. As argued in part one of the thesis, one aim of the Catholic Church during the past 150 years has been to render invisible the Irishness of its predominantly Irish congregation and to achieve a situation where Catholicism became the significant identity of the Irish working class in Britain. Particular emphasis was placed by the Church on the role of Catholic schools in this process, especially with respect the second and subsequent generations. The analysis presented here will attempt to explore the basis of the relationship between their Catholicism amd Irishness or lack of it for the sample. It will also explore to what extent the curriculum of Catholic schools includes teaching about Ireland and the Irish in Britain.

There were three groups of questions in this section of the interview: the first three questions were about the respondents' own views on Catholicism and Catholic schools; the second group of questions were about the absence or presence of an Irish dimension to the curriculum of Catholic schools; and the final group of questions were about the place of Irish studies in the school curriculum and the responsibility of Catholic schools in this respect. The chapter is divided into three sections, each group of questions being dealt with in turn. For each set of questions the responses of the pupils will be compared first and then those of the teachers will be examined.

2. CATHOLICISM AND CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

The three questions in this section are:

1 Do you think there is anything special or distinctive about
Catholic schools?

2. What does being a Catholic mean to you?

3. Do you think Irishness and Catholicism are automatically associated together or not in this country?

The general hypothesis is that different definitions of the Church/Catholicism will be related to variations in the concept of identity. The historical study showed that the Catholic Church developed a strategy to win its Irish congregation to a version of Catholicism which entailed denationalisation, substituting a religious identity for the Irish national identity which constituted the hallmark of Irish communities in Britain. Differences in how the relationship to Catholicism is expressed by different groups interviewed is expected rather than any necessary difference in adherence to Catholicism. The expectation is that differences will be more sharply apparent whenever the questions make reference to Ireland or Irishness.

2.1 THE PUPILS

2.1.1 Question 1: Do you think there is anything special or distinctive about Catholic schools

In coding the responses to this question the aim is to establish whether the interviewee thought Catholic schools were distinguishable from other schools and, if the answer was affirmative, to identify why Catholic

schools are considered to be different. Three categories were formed for coding the ways in which Catholic schools are different: discipline; religion; and Catholic communality. 'Discipline' includes all the responses which make reference to the discipline regime of Catholic schools being their distinctive feature. 'Religion' codes together all replies which cite the religious denomination of the schools as their distinguishing mark compared with other schools. The category of 'Catholic communality' groups together all responses which refer to a communal 'sense of belonging' or connection existing between people in Catholic schools, distinguishing them from other schools.

The findings reveal that 61% of the pupils thought that there was nothing distinctive about Catholic schools compared with other schools (see table 1). There were very similar majorities for this in both London and Liverpool (58% and 63% respectively). It is noteworthy that frequently denials of difference were accompanied by reference to 'only religion' distinguishing Catholic schools from other schools. Thus religious denomination, the characteristic which was historically the particular hallmark of these schools, was not considered a sufficient mark of distinction by 61% of the pupils for them to assess Catholic schools as different from other schools.

However, 32% of the pupils did consider Catholic schools to be different from other schools. Again there was little overall difference between the two samples: 39% (10 out of 26) of the London pupils and 31% (12 out of 40) of the Liverpool pupils thought that Catholic schools were distinctive. In London half of these pupils (5 out of 10) gave 'Catholic communality' as the reason for this distinctiveness, whereas in Liverpool only one pupil gave this reason. The largest grouping in Liverpool (8 out of 12) cited religion as the reason why Catholic schools are different from other schools; in London a smaller proportion (2 out of 10) suggested this is what distinguishes Catholic schools. Although the numbers are very small, these differences are worth noting because they may, in combination with other differences, indicate a pattern of responses in London and Liverpool which represent different relationships to Catholicism. When the responses of each sample were distributed according to identity, generation

and social class there were no striking differences from the overall pattern for this question in either city.

TABLE 1

PUPILS: DISTINCTIVENESS OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Responses	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
NO	61%(40)	58%(15)	63%(25)
QUALIFIED	0%	0%	0%
YES/DISCIPLINE	9%(6)	12%(3)	8%(3)
YES/RELIGION	15%(10)	8%(2)	20%(8)
YES/CATHOLIC COMMUNALITY	9%(6)	19%(5)	3%(1)
D K	6%(4)	4%(1)	8%(3)

2.1.2 Question 2: What does being a Catholic mean to you?

The intention in coding the replies of the pupils and staff to this question is to establish whether religion held any particular meaning for the pupils and, if so, to ascertain the basis of that meaning. The responses the interviewees gave about the meaning of being a Catholic fell into three categories: Catholic communality; family; and religious

practices. 'Catholic communality' entails a 'sense of belonging' to a specific community which is embracing. The responses grouped under the code of 'family' are those where the meaning of Catholicism is directly linked to being brought up a Catholic within the family. A final group of respondents detailed the practices and beliefs of Catholicism as representing its essential meaning.

85% of the pupils interviewed stated that their religion was meaningful to them (see table 2a), that is, 88% in London (23 out of 26) and 82% in Liverpool (33 out of 40). What divergence there was between the samples lay in the reasons given for the relevance religion had in their lives. 73% (19 out of 26) of the London pupils stated that their religion was important to them in terms of a communal or family identity. In Liverpool the equivalent responses were given by 56% (22 out of 40) of the pupils. However, in Liverpool 28% (11 out of 40) indicated that it was the religious beliefs and practices encompassed by Catholicism which were most meaningful to them. In London the equivalent response was given by 15% (4 out of 26) of the pupils. These differences are not statistically significant, but there is a suggestion that they might be worth following up in a larger sample.

TABLE 2a

PUPILS: PERSONAL MEANING OF CATHOLICISM

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
CATHOLIC COMMUNALITY	36%(24)	42%(11)	33%(13)
FAMILY	26%(17)	31%(8)	23%(9)
RELIGIOUS PRACTICES	23%(15)	15%(4)	28%(11)
UNIMPORTANT	15%(10)	12%(3)	18%(7)

When the samples were examined separately the main variation was discovered in the London sample. 52% (11 out of 21) of the pupils in London who selected an Irish identity as primary said that it was a communal identity which rendered their religion meaningful to them (see table 2b). In contrast none of the pupils in London who selected either a regional or British/English identity gave this reason. Despite the small numbers involved this difference is significant at the .05 level (zero in cell). In London the tendency to perceive Catholicism in terms of community meanings rather than as a religious entity is accounted for by the responses of those who chose an Irish identity as most significant for them. There were no other significant differences in either sample.

TABLE 2b

LONDON PUPILS: PERSONAL MEANING OF CATHOLICISM ACCORDING TO IDENTITY

Response	Identity			
	IRISH(9)	IRISH DESCENT(12)	REGIONAL IDENTITY(2)	BRITISH/ ENGLISH(3)
CATHOLIC COMMUNALITY	78%(7)	33%(4)	0%	0%
FAMILY	22%(2)	42%(5)	50%(1)	0%
RELIGIOUS PRACTICES	0%	17%(2)	50%(1)	33%(1)
UNIMPORTANT	0%	8%(1)	0%	66%(2)

2.1.3 Question 3: Do you think Irishness and Catholicism are automatically associated together or not in this country?

The intention in examining the replies to this question is to unravel the different nuances of response. The respondents who think Irish people are always assumed to be Catholics are grouped under 'Irish means Catholic'. Those included under 'Catholic means Irish' think that Catholics are always taken to be Irish. Those who see Catholicism and Irishness as being conflated in public consciousness in this country (that is, Catholics are always Irish and the Irish are always Catholics) are counted under 'synonymous'. The 'contingent' category contains those who

specify particular conditions as having to exist in order for Irishness and Catholicism to be associated.

Question 3 was the first question to introduce a direct reference to Ireland or Irishness and it was also the first to produce significant variation between the two samples (see table 3). In London 62% (16 out of 26) thought that Irishness and Catholicism were synonymous in this country. In Liverpool, in comparison, 28% (11 out of 40) of the pupils thought that the two were synonymous. This difference was significant at the .02 level. The other striking feature was that no pupil in London either answered 'no' or 'don't know' in response to this question. In other words, all the pupils in London thought that Irishness and Catholicism were associated to one degree or another in this country. In Liverpool 23% said they either did not think Irishness and Catholicism were necessarily associated or stated in response to the question 'don't know'. Comparing this difference between the two samples produced a significance at the .05 level (zero in cell). However, despite this difference the vast majority of the pupils thought that Irishness and Catholicism were associated to one degree or another: 86% (57 out of 66). When the two samples were reviewed separately in terms of possible differences according to identity, generation and social class, no significant variation was discovered in either city.

TABLE 3

PUPILS: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN IRISHNESS AND CATHOLICISM

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
IRISH MEANS CATHOLIC	29%(19)	27%(7)	30%(12)
CATHOLIC MEANS IRISH	8%(5)	4%(1)	10%(4)
SYNONYMOUS	41%(27)	62%(16)	28%(11)
CONTINGENT	9%(6)	8%(2)	10%(4)
NO	6%(4)	0%	10%(4)
D K	8%(5)	0%	13%(5)

2.1.4 Discussion

What emerges strongly amongst a majority of the pupils in both cities is that the Catholic Church and Catholic schooling are 'taken for granted'. This is as much indicated by the majority denial of difference response to question 1, asserting that there is nothing distinctive about Catholic schools, as it is by the majority positive response in answer to question 2, indicating that religion is meaningful to them. All but one or two of the pupils had been to Catholic schools since the age of five years and

thus had no direct experience of other schools. What knowledge most of them had of other schools was gleaned from friends outside school. Most deduced that, except for R E, the lessons in other schools are similar to those in Catholic schools, and thus both types of school are assumed to be similar. The following are typical comments:

> Not too much - just R E.
>
> Just the religion.
>
> All the same except some have R E and others haven't.
>
> Not so different - me mates are Protestants and in their schools they do religion.
>
> Not really - just mass now and then.

This is interesting in two respects. First, it is an accurate reflection of the fact that Catholic schools, in all but the religious education they provide, are similar to other state schools in the organisation and content of the curriculum. These schools were always intended to be similar, as the first part of the thesis attempted to demonstrate. Second, it is interesting because the pupils divorce the religious ethos of the schools from a consideration of what a school is about. They have mostly never known any other educational institution and, although they know other types of schools exist, they are distinguished 'only by religion'. This is not necessarily a derogatory comment on the significance of religion, as the pupils' answers to the question about what their religion means to them confirm. But it does indicate a separation of the religion of the school, the rationale of its separate existence, from the business of schooling in the minds of these pupils.

A third of the pupils (22 out of 66) attached some distinctiveness to Catholic schools. In London the emphasis was on Catholic communality:

> They are different - more a grouping together of clans. Other schools have lots of different minorities. The atmosphere in Catholic schools is different, a brotherhood.
>
> You have to take R E here. There's a bit of difference in the way teachers act to you, try and understand in a Catholic sort of way, you're not just another boy.
>
> Yes - all got a common link here, sort of.
>
> Catholic schools are mainly Irish and more holy.

It is clear that a sense of 'belonging' is integral to the definitions of what is different about Catholic schools voiced by the London pupils. The religious element of this identification is intertwined with a communal bond. In contrast, in Liverpool the emphasis is more often on religion:

> Yes, the schools are different because of religion, it helps to have that knowledge as you grow up.
>
> Yes, religion, from very young it's drummed into you about Our Lord - not so consistent in a protestant school.
>
> I imagine religion makes them different, they might have arguments because they don't all believe the same thing.
>
> Yes, religion - they don't believe Mary was a virgin, so don't pray to her.

The reason that was deemed by the majority of pupils in both cities to be insufficiently significant to define Catholic schools as different is put forward as the critical distinction by this minority in Liverpool. Their

reasons for thinking that religion is critical either focused on the internal practice of Catholic schools or what was imagined to be the effects in other schools of not being Catholic. It is possible that the reason why religion is given as the main distinguishing feature of schools in Liverpool is the long history of religious hostility in the city. This, as has been described in the first part of the thesis, was a conflict in which national differences were as important as religious differences. The majority view in Liverpool, that Catholic schools are not different from other schools, therefore becomes all the more significant.

In the following question, where the pupils are describing the meaning Catholicism has for them, the majority of London pupils (73%) state that their religion is meaningful as a communal or family identity; whereas in Liverpool just over half the pupils answered in this way. The proportion is smaller in Liverpool because a larger percentage than in London consider that it is as a set of beliefs and practices that their religion is meaningful. The strength of Catholicism for 62% (41 out of 66) of the whole sample, therefore, lies in the fact that it is intertwined in their family and/or community identification. The historical study in part one of the thesis suggested that Catholicism was integral to Irish communities in Britain because of both its religious and its national significance. The Catholic Church, in gaining a foothold in such communities, had to become strongly parish based. This strategy aimed at creating the conditions where a religious rather than national identity would become predominant in these communities. The majority of responses in both London and Liverpool bear out the continuing relevance of this analysis, and reflect the historical conditions in which Irish Catholic parishes were established.

The quotations below are examples of what pupils who emphasised Catholic communality stated:

> Catholicism is my identity; I have a fellow-feeling to all Catholics.

> It's quite important, I'd have quite a lot in common with a Catholic, background and that.
>
> I go to church, it's quite important for most Irish isn't it?
>
> I'm not a very strict Catholic, but it sticks with you. I'd always argue back if anyone put the Catholic faith down and I'd look twice at anyone Orange.
>
> I go to church every week. Round here, old-fashioned Liverpool, it's very Catholic. I like being a Catholic, belonging to it.

The strong sense of connectedness to either their immediate community or to Catholics as a body is clear in these statements. Catholicism has had to embrace both aspects if it was to become rooted in the Irish working-class areas which have formed the majority of Catholic parishes in Britain. Below are included quotations from some of the pupils who emphasised Catholicism's meaning as related to their family:

> I remember it always because of my family.
>
> It's important because of my family mostly.
>
> It's my belief and my family's for generations been Catholic and I wouldn't fit in if I wasn't.
>
> Parents brought me up as one and my family for generations been Catholic.
>
> Means a bit to me - but just because of my mum and dad I'm a Catholic really

These statements are of a different order to those concerned with Catholic communality, although they may be also the consequence of similar processes. What the two types of comment share is that they locate the personal meaning of Catholicism in terms of close family or communal ties rather than in terms of any spiritual meaning.

In Liverpool, although the majority identify with Catholicism in the above manner, an interesting minority defined Catholicism's meaning in terms of a set of beliefs and practices. When this is considered in conjunction with similar responses to question 1 there may be a greater likelihood that, in Liverpool, for some people, Catholicism stands as a religious faith rather than being interwoven with a family/communal identity. However, it is possible that, to the extent that pupils in Liverpool evince an identification with Catholicism as a set of beliefs and practices, this could also be accounted for by the longevity of the Church's enterprise in the area.

In answer to question 3, 70% (46 out of 66) of the whole sample considered either that Irishness and Catholicism were synonymous or that an Irish person is automatically thought to be a Catholic. This suggests that, in the view of these pupils, the close association that existed between Catholicism and Irishness in public consciousness in the 19th century is not necessarily a thing of the past. It is not altogether surprising that a significantly greater proportion of the London sample thought that Catholicism and Irishness were synonymous than did the Liverpool sample. In London the pupils are all second generation and living in an Irish Catholic area of the city, whereas in Liverpool the pupils might know that Catholicism is a major religion in the city but not necessarily that it was associated with Irishness. Below are the comments of some of the London pupils:

> Yes - the two go together for English people.
>
> Definitely, unless from the North.
>
> They're seen as the same.

> Yes, around here the Irish dances are in Catholic clubs.

> Both really - people think Catholics originated in Ireland.

In Liverpool the pupils who thought Irishness and Catholicism were synonymous commented in the following manner:

> Yes, because the Irish are supposed to be very holy people.

> Yes, the Irish are very religious, my gran tells me.

> Yes, because most of the Irish are Catholics.

> The government obviously thinks so or else why have the army fighting over there.

> Yes, because all Catholics in Liverpool have some Irish background.

The comments of the London pupils appear to be more directly based on personal experience than do those of the Liverpool pupils. The difference between the pupils who thought the two categories were synonymous and those who stated rather that Irish people are assumed to be Catholics lay in the fact that the latter group always indicated that a Catholic would not necessarily be assumed to be Irish. For example:

> Yes, most Irish people are Catholics in Ireland and same here but not necessarily so that a Catholic is Irish.

> Irish are taken as Catholics but not that Catholics are Irish because there's alot of Italians around here.

> Irish are seen as Catholic more than Catholics are seen as Irish. If you're Irish in Liverpool now people just think of the IRA.

There were significantly more negative or 'don't know' comments in Liverpool than London, which probably is a further reflection of the difference between the two communities, given the different phases of Irish migration they were selected to represent. A small number of pupils in Liverpool said Catholics would, in their view, be automatically considered to be Irish. These pupils possibly do so out of an acute awareness that there are both Protestant and Catholics in Ireland, as there are both Protestants and Catholics of Irish descent in Liverpool. In this context they would think all Catholics would be assumed to be Irish.

2.2 THE TEACHERS

It is worth reiterating that the teachers represent a different sample from the pupils. As they were not all born in London or Liverpool, interest does not centre on them as representative of different phases of Irish migration as it does with the pupils. Rather it is their selected identity which forms the primary basis of the analysis of their responses to the questions. The teachers' responses on identity are coded differently from the pupils', that is, in terms of degree of affiliation to Irishness: Irishness as primary; Irishness as secondary; and Irishness absent. Despite these differences in the coding of identity the pupils and teachers were, with the exception of one question, asked the same questions and the same coding system was used to analyse both sets of responses. It is, therefore, possible to make comparisons between the pupils and teachers as whole samples.

2.2.1 Question 1: Do you think there is anything special or distinctive about Catholic schools?

Two interesting features emerge from the teachers' responses to this question. First, in contrast to 61% of the pupils who thought there was nothing distinctive about Catholic schools, only 13% (5 out of 39) of the staff gave a similar response (see table 4). As none of the teachers answered 'don't know' this means that 87% (34 out of 39) thought that Catholic schools were different in one way or another from other schools (see table 4). This difference between the teachers and pupils about the distinctiveness of Catholic schools is significant at the .001 level.

Second, the two reasons the teachers gave most frequently for the distinctiveness of Catholic schools were Catholic communality and discipline (36% and 31% respectively). Of those teachers who chose Irishness as a primary identity, only 15% (2 out of 13) said it was the Catholic communality of the schools which distinguished them. This compares with 50% (8 out of 16) of the Irishness absent group who singled out Catholic communality as the distinguishing feature of the schools. The difference between the Irishness primary group and the Irishness absent group is only significant on a one-tail test because the numbers are very small. However, there appears to be a reversal of this trend in the responses which mark the discipline of Catholic schools as their distinguishing characteristic. Nearly half of the Irishness primary group (6 out of 13) returned this response, whereas only 19% (3 out of 16) of the Irishness absent group did so. On both responses those of the Irishness secondary group are closer to those of the Irishness absent group. The apparent reversal may suggest that Catholic communality represents something different for the adult sample compared with the pupils. This might usefully be investigated in a larger study.

TABLE 4

TEACHERS: DISTINCTIVENESS OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL/ SAMPLE(39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY(13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY(10)	IRISH/ ABSENT(16)
NO	13%(5)	15%(2)	10%(1)	13%(2)
QUALIFICATION	13%(5)	15%(2)	20%(2)	6%(2)
YES/DISCIPLINE	31%(12)	46%(6)	30%(3)	19%(3)
YES/RELIGION	7%(3)	8%(1)	0%	13%(2)
YES/CATHOLIC COMMUNALITY	36%(14)	15%(2)	40%(4)	50%(8)
D K	0%	0%	0%	0%

2.2.2 Question 2: What does being a Catholic mean to you?

By far the largest category of response to this question (23 out of 39) are those who stated that the meaning that their religion had for them was Catholic communality (see table 5). Approximately two-thirds of the Irishness secondary (7 out of 10) and Irishness absent groups (10 out of 16) gave this response, compared with 46% (6 out of 13) of the Irishness primary group.

TABLE 5

TEACHERS: PERSONAL MEANING OF CATHOLICISM

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL/ SAMPLE(39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY(13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY(10)	IRISH/ ABSENT(16)
CATHOLIC COMMUNALITY	59%(23)	46%(6)	70%(7)	63%(10)
FAMILY	7%(3)	0%	10%(1)	13%(2)
RELIGION	23%(3)	31%(4)	10%(1)	25%(4)
UNIMPORTANT	10%(4)	23%(3)	10%(1)	0%

2.2.3 Question 3: Do you think Irishness and Catholicism are automatically associated together or not in this country?

It is clear from the findings in table 6a that 97% of the teachers thought that Irishness and Catholicism were associated to one degree or another. 72% thought either that an Irish person is always assumed to be a Catholic (18 out of 39) or that the two categories were synonymous (10 out of 39). It is interesting to note that fewer of the teachers compared with the pupils thought that Irishness and Catholicism were synonymous. No one thought that a Catholic was automatically assumed to be Irish, although 26% (10 out of 39) considered that it all depended on the circumstances.

Examining the distribution of responses according to identity and social class some variations are apparent. 92% of the Irishness primary group responded that Irish people were either automatically assumed to be Catholics (9 out of 13) or that the two categories were synonymous (3 out of 13). In comparison, just under two-thirds of both the Irishness secondary group (6 out of 10) and the Irishness absent (10 out of 16) groups gave similar responses. This difference was significant at the .05 level. Another variation, according to the identity of the teachers, lay in the proportions replying that they thought the answer was contingent on the circumstances. None of the 13 Irishness primary group gave this reply, compared with 40% (4 out of 10) of the Irishness secondary group and 38% (6 out of 16) of the Irishness absent group. This difference between the latter two groups and the Irishness primary group is significant at the .01 level (zero in cell).

Of equal significance is the variation between the responses of those of working class and middle class origins on this question. It is apparent that 66% (12 out of 18) of the working class teachers considered that Irish people were automatically assumed to be Irish (see table 6b). In contrast 29% (6 out of 21) of the middle class thought this to be the case. This difference is significant at the .05 level. However, it should be noted that a third of the middle class stated that Irishness and catholicism were synonomous while 17% of the working class gave the same response. Both these replies indicate that the respondent considers that there is an automatic assumption of a connection between Irishness and catholicism. Overall, 83% (15 out of 18) of the working class gave both responses. Whereas 62% (13 out of 21) of the teachers of middle class origins did. This difference is not significant on a two tail test but is on a one tail test at the .05 level.

TABLE 6a

TEACHERS: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN IRISHNESS AND CATHOLICISM

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL/ SAMPLE(39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY(13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY(10)	IRISH/ ABSENT(16)
IRISH MEANS CATHOLIC	44%(18)	69%(9)	20%(2)	44%(7)
CATHOLIC MEANS IRISH	0%	0%	0%	0%
SYNONYMOUS	26%(10)	23%(3)	40%(4)	19%(3)
CONTINGENT	26%(10)	0%	40%(4)	38%(6)
NO	3%(1)	8%(1)	0%	0%
D K	0%	0%	0%	0%

TABLE 6b

TEACHERS: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN IRISHNESS AND CATHOLICISM ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Response	Social Class	
	WORKING CLASS(18)	MIDDLE CLASS(21)
IRISH MEANS CATHOLIC	66%(12)	29%(6)
CATHOLIC MEANS IRISH	0%	0%
SYNONYMOUS	17%(3)	33%(7)
CONTINGENT	17%(3)	33%(7)
NO	0%	5%(1)
D K	0%	0%

2.2.4 Discussion

The overwhelming majority of the teachers thought that Catholic schools could be distinguished from other schools. The divergence in their response, compared with that of the pupils to the same question, probably reflects their wider knowledge and experience. A number of the teachers had taught in non-Catholic schools or had friends who did. Amongst the

teachers it is those who are most distant from an Irish identity who tend to emphasise the Catholic communality of the schools as what is distinctive:

> Much more caring than other schools and more sense of identity if you're a Catholic. There's a sense of conservatism in terms of what's expected of staff. People in a high position are close to the community and have often been to this school themselves, this helped perpetuate the traditionalism of the school.
>
> Yes, training and teaching of a way of life is what's distinctive. I wouldn't want to teach in a non-Catholic school; I'm against ending Catholic education at 11 years old.
>
> Yes, more malicious damage at the other school I was at. The background of everyone here is similar, this has an effect.

On the other hand, the Irishness primary group tended to single out the discipline of Catholic schools as being a key feature:

> Yes, more disciplined attitude, can use corporal punishment - although not a special Catholic emphasis here because none of the pastoral heads are Catholics - also can expel and suspend more easily because of the school status.
>
> The atmosphere, sense of discipline - well drilled, visitors comment on it.
>
> Not aware of anything so identifiable as an ethos but there is a certain strictness to the regimes in Catholic schools, for example, in Liverpool many have a

reputation for beating.

This suggests that it may be that this group of teachers is more critical of Catholic schools as institutions than, for example, those who selected no Irish identity.

On the question about the meaning religion held, none of the Irishness absent group stated that their religion was unimportant. Although the numbers are tiny it is interesting, in the light of the findings of the previous question, to discover that just over a fifth (3 out of 13) of the Irishness primary group view Catholicism as unimportant in their lives. The main impression gained, however, from the responses to the second question is that, for this sample of teachers, just as with the pupils, their religion is of significance in their lives and the chief reason given for this is: Catholic communality. Only 23% of the teachers state that it is as a set of beliefs and practices that their religion is principally resonant for them. This suggests that an important basis of Catholicism's appeal is the sense people have of being part of a 'caring community':

> Sharing and caring - it's to do with being a Christian - and the similarity and familiarity with other Catholics.
>
> Still means something, it's not just ritual, it's a cultural experience as well, gives continuity in my life. I feel an immediate kinship with Catholics or second-generation Irish.
>
> A social thing, tied to it, feel part of a group especially as I went into teaching and stayed in Liverpool. Spiritually it means very little except I still find some inspiration in the ideal of love and Christ and still find the traditional music and service are beautiful.
>
> Sense of belonging, sense of family - it focuses my

beliefs and is something to rebel against, a sense of security.

There are markedly fewer teachers than pupils who gave links with their family as their response about what Catholicism represented in their lives. This is probably for two reasons: the teachers as adults have been able to establish their own relationship with their religious beliefs in a manner not available to the 15 year olds interviewed; when the teachers did refer to their family this was closely bound to their notions of Catholic communality and was thus classified as such.

The final question in this section produced significant differences amongst the teachers, just as it had with the pupils. Overall a similar majority of teachers (70%) thought that either Irishness and Catholicism were synonymous or that an Irish person was always assumed to be a Catholic, as did the pupils. Each response implied a strong association between Irishness and Catholicism. Those who thought the categories were synonymous did not make this distinction. Both identity and social class produced significant variations between the teachers on these responses. Those who selected an Irish identity as primary and those of working-class origins were more likely to consider that Irishness and Catholicism were strongly associated in this country. This probably reflects the working-class Irish communities in which these individuals grew up. It also suggests that a person of middle-class origins whose Irish identity is important to them is also more likely to think that Irishness and Catholicism are strongly associated in this way.

This connection between social class and Irish identity is borne out by more of the Irishness absent group viewing any association between Irishness and Catholicism as depending on the circumstances. In the 19th century this linkage depended on social class, that is, working-class Catholics were presumed to be Irish. The interviewees who thought the association between Irishness and Catholicism was contingent think the association might be made in two circumstances. Some people thought it would depend on the area in which someone lived: that is, the cities. However, the areas referred to are either those associated with Irish

working-class communities of the 19th century, for example, Liverpool, or present-day Irish working-class areas, for example, Kilburn or Holloway in London. Other people thought that English Catholics did not want to be associated with being Irish and, therefore, only when a person was obviously Irish in some other way would the association between Irishness and Catholicism be made.

3. THE CURRICULUM OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

3.1 THE PUPILS

3 1.1 Questions 3, 4 and 5

In this section three question were asked. They are here considered together:

4. Have you ever been taught anything on Ireland, either here or at your junior school?

5. If yes, what were you taught?

6. Have you been taught anything about the Irish in Britain?

The intention in this section is to inquire into the teaching about Ireland and the Irish carried out in this selection of Catholic schools. One aim is to discover the extent of current provision; whether the practice of Catholic junior schools is thought to be different from that of the secondary schools; and the presence and absence of Ireland in the secondary school curriculum.

First, the responses were analysed for the incidence of teaching on Ireland. The most striking feature of the responses is the very similar pattern of reply in both cities (see table 7a). In London 31% and in

Liverpool 38% of the pupils reported that they had never been taught anything about Ireland or the Irish in Britain. On the other hand, 69% in London and 63% in Liverpool said they had been taught something about either Ireland or the Irish in Britain in one or other of the schools they had attended. In answering the question most of the pupils just gave details of what they had been taught and when. A few pupils gave more expansive replies, usually those who made negative comments about either the amount or the content of what they had been taught about Ireland.

TABLE 7a

PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
NO	34.5%(23)	31%(8)	38%(15)
YES	65.5%(43)	69%(18)	62%(25)

Second, the responses were examined to discover whether Ireland figures more in the curriculum of the secondary schools the pupils attended or the primary schools; which subjects in the secondary curriculum include reference to Ireland; the range of topics relating to Ireland covered in the schools. For over two-thirds of the pupils who reported being taught about Ireland this teaching took place in their secondary school (see table 7b). In both cities history at secondary school appears to be the subject in which pupils are most likely to study Ireland as part of their course: 27 out of 33 pupils stated that it was in history that they learnt about Ireland (see table 7c). The responses about Ireland featuring in history courses came from all four schools, whereas teaching about Ireland or the

Irish in Britain in geography and humanities lessons was each reported in only one school.

TABLE 7b

PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND ACCORDING TO LEVEL OF SCHOOLING

Response	Sample group	
	LONDON(18)	LIVERPOOL(25)
JUNIOR SCHOOL	4	7
SECONDARY SCHOOL	15	18

Finally, the topics taught about Ireland were considered (see table 7d). The spread of topics taught about Ireland appears to be greater in London than in Liverpool. In London the topics covered in history ranged from the plantations in the 17th century to the time of Irish independence. However, only one or two pupils commented on each instance. In Liverpool, apart from two pupils who referred to being taught about Ireland and the Tudors, the explicit references about history lessons were all to the famine in the 1840s and the consequences for emigration. It was in this context that the Irish in Britain were included in the curriculum in the Liverpool schools. In contrast, in London, all references to the Irish in Britain were to either humanities or social studies lessons and all took place in one school.

TABLE 7c

PUPILS: SUBJECT DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Sample group	
	LONDON(15)	LIVERPOOL(18)
HISTORY	9	18
R E	1	1
ENGLISH	2	0
GEOGRAPHY		3
SOCIAL STUDIES	1	0
HUMANITIES	5	0

TABLE 7d

PUPILS: RANGE OF TOPICS TAUGHT ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Sample group	
	LONDON(15)	LIVERPOOL(18)
TUDORS	0	2
JAMES I/THE PLANTATIONS	1	0
CROMWELL	0	0
1798/UNITED IRISHMAN	1	0
CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION	1	0
THE FAMINE	2	9
PARNELL/HOME RULE	0	0
EASTER RISING/PARTITION	1	0
NORTHERN IRELAND	1	0
'ROOTS'	5	0
IRISH IN BRITAIN	4	8

3.1.2 Discussion

The expectation was that there would not be an extensive programme of study about Ireland in the schools because, from the inception of Catholic state education, the secular curriculum has conformed to the principles and practices established in the wider state system. The way the questions were worded meant that pupils were inclined to report even the briefest incursion of Ireland into the curriculum. These have all been coded as positive responses, and this accounts for approximately two-thirds of the pupils in each city indicating that they had been taught about Ireland at some point. However, as quotations from these pupils illustrate, the picture is of an excluding form of teaching on Ireland:

> This year we were going through English history and the Irish came into it, bit on Wolfe Tone, she said we might do more in the next century, but was only two pages. Dad taught me what I know.

> In English in the third year we were able to do projects on our backgrounds. But not in history, did England and India but not Ireland.

> At odd times things are said about Ireland.

> In history, last year, about the Irish coming to England after the famine, not much detail.

> In history and R E Ireland crops up occasionally, not really taught properly.

Only one of the schools, which was in London, contained no pupils making explicitly negative comments on the content of the curriculum about Ireland. This was the one school where the head of the history department (interviewed for this research) was not only aware of the absence of Ireland from the curriculum, but in recent years had made alterations to a number of the history courses to include more on Ireland.

The apparently greater incidence of teaching about Ireland in the secondary school curriculum compared with that of the junior schools is probably due to the relatively high incidence of Ireland being included in history courses in the secondary schools. Pupils in one school in London and one in Liverpool reported that there was some teaching about the Irish in Britain or 'roots'. In the London school the social studies course in the first year included reference to the Irish in the context of a course on immigrants, and in the humanities lessons in the same school pupils apparently often opt to do projects on Ireland when considering their 'roots'. On the other hand, in Liverpool the references were to the large numbers of Irish people coming to Britain in the mid-19th century, taught briefly in history lessons in the context of the famine. There did not appear to be any evidence of a general attempt in these schools to reassess the curriculum in the light of the ethnic background of the majority of pupils. What innovations take place are due to the views of individual teachers or departments and thus are inevitably piecemeal.

3.2 THE TEACHERS

3.2.1 Questions 4, 5 and 6

The teachers were asked the same questions as the pupils, in order to enable some assessment of the past practices of Catholic schools in Britain to be made. Accordingly, only the responses of the teachers who were born in this country (33 out of 39) have been included in this section of the analysis. In contrast to the pupils, 63% (21 out of 33) of the teachers stated that they had not been taught anything about Ireland or the Irish in Britain when they were at school, and 37% (12 out of 33) said that they had (see table 8).

TABLE 8

TEACHERS: INCIDENCE OF TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Identity		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(33)	IRISH IDENTITY(18)	IRISHNESS ABSENT(15)
NO	63%(21)	62%(11)	76%(10)
YES	37%(12)	39%(7)	34%(5)

3.2.2 Discussion

The fact that almost two-thirds of the teachers state that they were not taught anything about Ireland or the Irish in Britain suggests that, in the past, Ireland had a lower profile in the curriculum of Catholic schools than in Catholic schools today. However, the pupils were being asked the questions while still at school, with possibly fresher memories. In addition, the briefest reported references to Ireland by the pupils were coded as positive and this may serve to inflate the extensiveness of current teaching on Ireland. It is such brief references to Ireland at school that the teachers may have forgotten. The detailed examination of the pupils' descriptions of teaching about Ireland revealed that it took place predominantly in secondary schools, mainly in history lessons, was exclusive in character, and frequently relied on the initiative of individual teachers. The descriptions of the 12 teachers who remembered Ireland figuring in their school curriculum reveal a similar pattern. All state that they were taught the subject in history courses at secondary school. Only one or two also make reference either to teaching in primary school or to other subjects at the secondary level.

The teachers, in their comments on what they were taught, suggest that there may have been even stronger editing in the past than the pupils suggest for today:

> Yes, in history at secondary school, the famine that was about it, part of O-level course.
>
> Yes, in O-level history we did Gladstone and the Irish problem. The impression given was of 'this problematic race' - very different from what I heard at home.
>
> Did the Irish problem in history, it was very British based.
>
> Yes, in history, we did the Irish Question for O-level. It was done from the view of the Irish as a problem to Britain. Also at college it was the same.

In contrast to these observations, one of only two positive comments made about teaching on Ireland illustrates the type of situation which this thesis argues Catholic schooling attempted to suppress:

> Yes, in A-level history we did British political history to 1945 and did Home Rule. In the fifth year we could choose a project and I did the Easter Rising, a lot did. Coventry was very Irish and so was the school, the teaching was anti-English if anything.

Out of 105 teachers and pupils interviewed this respondent was the only one to describe attending a Catholic school which mirrored its local community in this way and commented on a form of teaching which was anti-British.

It is interesting to examine the responses of the majority of teachers who were not taught anything about Ireland or the Irish in Britain:

> No, my learning about Ireland came from my parents.
>
> No, not at school, what I knew came from my grandmother.
>
> Never, Ireland didn't exist - family told me.
>
> No, we did medieval history.
>
> Nothing on Irish in Britain either - local history is a recent phenomenon.

These replies suggest that some of the teachers see the exigencies of the curriculum as responsible for the dearth of teaching about Ireland. Others refer to an alternative source of information on Ireland, suggesting that they grew up in an Irish context and further highlighting the absence of Ireland in the school's curriculum.

The comment of one of the small number of teachers who made a directly political statement about the absence of Ireland from the curriculum describes the type of school which, this thesis proposes, is directly in keeping with the objectives of the Catholic schooling system:

> The school I went to in Gunnersbury was established for taking the working-class Irish and turning them into middle-class English. Don't do that here in the same way, kids here would reject it. I was isolated, they're not, are reinforced in the area.

4. IRISH STUDIES AND THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

The three questions that formed this part of the interview were:

11. Do you think more should be taught about Ireland in schools in this country?

12. Would it be a good idea to introduce Ireland into existing subjects or to have a separate subject as an option: Irish Studies?

13. Do you think Catholic schools have any special responsibility to teach about Ireland?

The aim of this section was threefold: to discover whether the pupils and staff in Catholic schools were interested in, and considered there ought to be, more teaching about Ireland in schools; to investigate the means they deemed most appropriate for any expansion of curriculum content on Ireland; to explore further the attitudes of staff and pupils to the role of Catholic schooling.

4.1 THE PUPILS

4.1.1 Question 11: Do you think more should be taught about Ireland in schools in this country

The replies are dominated by the 91% (60 out of 66) of the pupils who think that there definitely should be more teaching about Ireland in schools in Britain (see table 9). Only two pupils in the sample thought there should not be an increase in teaching on Ireland. This overwhelmingly enthusiastic response was as true of the pupils in Liverpool as it was of those in London.

TABLE 9

PUPILS: RESPONSES TO INCREASED TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
NO	3%(2)	0%	5%(2)
YES	91%(60)	85%(22)	96%(38)
D K	7%(4)	15%(4)	0%

4.1.2 Question 12: Would it be a good idea to introduce Ireland into existing subjects or to have a separate subject as an option: Irish Studies?

In coding the reponses to this question it was necessary to be aware that both means of expanding curriculum content on Ireland could be selected by people who are either wary of the repercussions of a higher profile for Ireland in the curriculum, or by those who are positive about a proposed greater visibility for Ireland. Consquently those who think Ireland should be introduced into various subjects have been coded as either 'integrate/wary' or 'integrate/positive'. While those who think Irish Studies should form a separate subject have been coded as either 'separate/wary' or 'separate/positive'

Overall 64% (42 out of 66) of the pupils were in favour of integrating any expansion of Irish Studies into existing subject areas (see table 10), while 41% (26 out of 66) of the sample thought that an Irish dimension to

the curriculum would be best served as a separate subject. This includes the 8% (5 out of 66) who thought both strategies should be employed. Overall 33% of the sample were wary of the circumstances in which an Irish dimension to the curriculum could be increased. However, 64% of the pupils expressed positive reasons for their choice of strategy.

TABLE 10

PUPILS: PREFERENCE FOR INTEGRATED OR SEPARATE TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
INTEGRATE/WARY	23%(15)	27%(7)	20%(8)
INTEGRATE/POSITIVE	33%(22)	23%(6)	40%(16)
SEPARATE/WARY	10%(6)	15%(4)	5%(2)
SEPARATE/POSITIVE	23%(15)	27%(7)	20%(8)
BOTH	8%(5)	4%(1)	10%(4)
D K	5%(3)	4%(1)	5%(2)

4.1.3 Question 13: Do you think Catholic schools have any special responsibility to teach about Ireland?

There were variations in the responses to this question of those who answered yes. The respondents who made no comment are coded as 'yes'; those who think Catholic schools do have a responsibility, but are cautious of insisting on this are coded as 'yes/wary'; while those who consider the schools have a responsibility and should shoulder it are coded as 'yes/positive'.

TABLE 11

PUPILS: RESPONSIBILITY OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS FOR TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
YES	8%(5)	12%(3)	5%(2)
YES/WARY	15%(10)	19%(5)	13%(5)
YES/POSITIVE	20%(13)	15%(4)	23%(9)
D K	8%(5)	12%(3)	5%(2)
NO	50%(33)	42%(11)	55%(22)

Half of all the pupils (33 out of 66) were clear that Catholic schools had no special responsibility to teach about Ireland, 42% (28 out of 66) thought that they did have and 8% (5 out of 66) were uncertain (see table

11). There was very little difference between the London and Liverpool pupils in their responses: in both cities they were divided on this issue.

4.1.4 Discussion

The vast majority of the pupils interviewed for this study were of the view that there should be more teaching about Ireland in schools. They were more divided about how this should be facilitated and about whether Catholic schools had any special responsibility in this respect. The reasons the pupils in both London and Liverpool gave for thinking that curriculum content on Ireland should be expanded fell into three main categories. For some, particularly in Liverpool, the chief rationale was that many people had their 'roots' in Ireland and ought to have the opportunity of learning about Ireland in that context:

> Yes, a lot come from Ireland but don't understand much about it

> Yes, a lot of people in Liverpool are Irish descendents and hardly know anything about it.

> Yes, most people in this school have an Irish background and we don't think about it enough, what I know comes from relatives or being over there.

> Yes, it's near to us and if anything happens there it will affect us and people want to know about their background.

> Yes, it's only across the water and there's a lot of Irish descent, only have to look at this school and it would be interesting to know about our ancestors.

These responses reveal an interest in and wish to know more about their background on the part of the Liverpool pupils, and are a further

indication of the extent to which this interest is not catered for at the present time. Ireland is consequently an unkown country even though geographically close. This is summed up in the following quotation: 'Yes, not many know about the Irish, they're a bit unknown.'

A number of other pupils, again especially in Liverpool, thought that the main reason for extending curriculum content on Ireland was because of the existence of prejudiced views about the Irish:

> Yes, we're blaming them for everything and don't know what they are like, people themselves, culture and that.
>
> Yes, everyone thinks Ireland is a trouble country but not all like that and we could learn about it.
>
> Yes, everyone hates them for being stupid and they're not, then they'd understand all their problems instead of just thinking they kill each other.
>
> Yes, because there is a lot of prejudice against them.

A number of other pupils wanted more teaching on Ireland in the hope that it would enable people to understand the situation in Northern Ireland better:

> Yes, there's a lot of political statements about Northern Ireland, people don't understand why troops are there and why people don't want them. They just show shooting and bombing on telly, not the people.
>
> Yes, because we'd get to know what they're fighting about, can't tell on telly.

> Yes, should let more people know what's going on over there, not just rely on the media, about the difficulties of ordinary people.

> Yes, about the IRA, why they're there and why soldiers there, because sometimes you don't know about it and why they are shooting might be a good reason.

The emphasis in Liverpool is on wanting to know more about Northern Ireland, as they clearly felt that there was no real source of information on the subject. In London the import was more that there should be teaching about Northern Ireland so that other people would find out the true situation, the implication being that these pupils were already aware. Whether to learn about their background, combat prejudice or to clarify what is happening in Northern Ireland most of the pupils think there should be more teaching about Ireland than is currently the case.

When it came to a consideration of the best means of implementing increased teaching about Ireland, the pupils were not only more divided but a number displayed a wariness of the impact of such a development. This wariness may be related to the prejudices commented on in answer to the previous question. Overall the pupils who thought teaching on Ireland should be expanded in the context of existing subjects were in the majority. Those who saw this as a positive development commented:

> Bring into history because a lot of coloured people would like to know more about the history of Ireland as well.

> Better in all lessons so that everyone can take part. Also not a lot might take it if it were separate.

> Bring it into history - last year we did Indian history, no Indian in the class, we asked why they

> did no Irish history and they said it wasn't on the syllabus.
>
> Bring it into R E, you don't hear about St Patrick, I'd love to know about the Irish.
>
> In other subjects, because lads proud of being British would say IRA if they saw Irish Studies, but if learnt in other subjects might change their views.

In contrast those who thought it should be brought into other subjects because they were wary about its introduction either displayed some diffidence themselves or commented on what they thought would be other people's diffidence if it were a separate subject on the timetable:

> Bring it into other subjects because people might not choose it thinking it was boring if a separate subject.
>
> If separate people might say what's it got to do with me, whereas if in other subjects might want to learn about other people.
>
> People would be put off by Irish Studies.

The pupils who thought that Irish Studies should form a separate subject within the curriculum also did so for both positive and wary reasons. The positive reasons were:

> Better to have Irish Studies because you'd learn more.
>
> Irish Studies is a good idea - people would be able to learn more about their culture. Fewer would say they're half or a quarter Irish, would just say

> they were Irish - give them more courage and I think that would be good.
>
> Should have separate Studies and not just for Ireland, for blacks and Scots too.
>
> Good to have Irish Studies, it would be interesting.
>
> Irish Studies would be best, as with French, because you'd have a better chance to learn more.

In contrast, those who thought Irish Studies should be separate because they were wary about introducing an Irish dimension stated that:

> Should have special classes for those who want to know about their background - if it was in other subjects maybe we'd overdo it.
>
> Separate, others might not be interested if in R E
>
> Separate because of syllabus and people of Irish background would only be interested.

The benefits, therefore, of Irish Studies as a separate subject were variously seen as that it afforded an opportunity for more detailed study or that, if separate, it would not then be foisted on those who were not interested.

The important point about these various responses to the means of introducing Ireland into the curriculum is that all the responses were represented in both London and Liverpool. Despite the differences in the history and composition of the two areas, each contained pupils who were both wary and positive about the implementation of more sustained teaching about Ireland.

The final question in this section asked the pupils whether Catholic schools had any special responsibility to teach about Ireland. Although 91% had stated that they thought there should be more teaching on Ireland generally in Britain, when it came to the question of Catholic schools only 43% considered that these schools had a particular responsibility to increase the curriculum content on Ireland, and half the pupils said that Catholic schools definitely did not have such a resposibility. Those who did not think teaching about Ireland should be expected at Catholic schools anymore than at other schools were divided into two groups. One group gave the following type of replies:

> Not all of the pupils are Irish, they'd want their own country.
>
> Not really, might be unfair to other minorities.
>
> Not really - up to the school.
>
> No, just the way the schools are run.
>
> Not just Ireland, because loads of countries are Catholic and we don't have to learn about them.
>
> Up to them.

In contrast the other group gave the following reasons why Catholic schools should not be held especially responsible about teaching on Ireland:

> No, every school should learn about Ireland.
>
> No, all schools should teach more.
>
> No, everyone's the same, all schools should learn about it.

> All schools, because everyone is staunchly British and should know what's really going on, the press don't tell.
>
> All schools, Protestant schools might have people of Irish background.

It would seem, therefore, that a negative reply to this question can have two completely different meanings. On the one hand, it can represent caution about the impact on other minorities in the school or caution about prescribing on such matters for the school; both types of reply appear defensive of the context of Catholic education. On the other hand, the negative response to this question could represent a further affirmation of the pupils' replies to question 7, that all schools should learn more about Ireland, as such learning should not be confined to those of Irish descent.

There was a preponderance of wary replies in London amongst the pupils who said yes to this question:

> Yes, in so far as telling them where they come from.
>
> Depends on whether the parents are patriotic or not.
>
> Yes, as long as everyone learnt about their background.
>
> Yes, if majority are Irish, but not leaving everyone else out.

Again, it is interesting that some caution is expressed in terms of the impact of an Irish dimension to the curriculum on pupils in Catholic schools who are not of an Irish background. Some of the replies, however, had a different emphasis:

> Yes, because they would know more about it and be interested in it.
>
> Yes, most white fellas here are Irish.

These responses refer to the same context, but in terms of the right of pupils of Irish descent to be taught about their 'roots'.

In Liverpool the responses of the pupils who said yes to this question tended to be less wary:

> Yes, many nuns and priests have Irish accents but don't mention it, perhaps even ashamed to be Irish because of all the bombings.
>
> Yes, a bit surprising that we don't learn anything about it.
>
> Yes, they should as lots of people learn about their background and it's ignored here.
>
> Yes, because things you hear about Ireland say everyone's biased and you might learn that many Protestants and Catholics are mates.
>
> Yes, because of all parents being Irish, I don't know why they don't.

The pupils in Liverpool emphasise that Catholic schools do have a special responsibility. The reason for this special responsibility is either because so many attending the schools are of an Irish background or because of the need to explain the situation in Northern Ireland.

The divergence in views between the London and Liverpool pupils on this question reflects the different situations in which they were responding. In London not only has there been a great deal of attention

paid in recent years to the issue of multi-cultural or anti-racist education, but the majority of the discussion has been in terms of the need to address the needs of black children. In the London schools, where the cautionary statements were made about the impact of the introduction of an Irish dimension, the pupils who are not second-generation Irish are mostly black, reflecting the mainly black and Irish area of London in which the schools are situated. In Liverpool, because of the area of the city in which the schools were located, the pupils were predominantly white and inevitably, given the history of Liverpool's Catholic population, were of Irish descent. The patterns of residential segregation established in Liverpool in the 19th century between the black and white and the Catholic and Protestant populations still persist. When these interviews took place there had been less attention given to multi-cultural or anti-racist education in Liverpool. This was especially true at the level of local education authority advice to schools. In London a large number of educational authorities offer such advice and especially in the area where the sample schools are located. Thus the replies of the pupils in Liverpool were more clearly focused on the responsibilities of Catholic schools to the people of Irish descent attending them. In comparison, in London the question was inevitably more complex for the pupils to answer and this possibly accounts for the wary tenor of many their replies.

4.2 THE TEACHERS

4.2.1 Question 11 : Do you think more should be taught about Ireland in schools in this country?

Almost three-quarters of the teachers, 72% (28 out of 39), thought that there should be more teaching about Ireland in schools in this country (see table 12). This response was similar across all the identity groups. The remaining 28% (11 out of 39) were divided between those who were not sure whether there should be more teaching and others who thought definitely not.

TABLE 12

TEACHERS: RESPONSES TO INCREASED TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
NO	15% (6)	15% (2)	20% (2)	13% (2)
YES	72% (28)	77% (10)	70% (7)	69% (11)
CAUTIOUS	13% (5)	8% (1)	10% (1)	19% (3)
D K	0%	0%	0%	0%

4.2.2 Question 12: Would it be a good idea to introduce Ireland into existing subjects or to have a separate subject: Irish Studies?

Overall 80% (31 out of 39) of the teachers were in favour of integrating any expansion of Irish Studies into existing subject areas (see table 13); while 26% (10 out of 39) of the sample thought that an Irish dimension to the curriculum would be best served as a separate subject. This includes the 8% (3 out of 39) who thought both strategies should be employed. Overall 46% (18 out of 39) of the sample were wary of the circumstances in which an Irish dimension to the curriculum could be increased. However, 52% (20 out of 39) of the teachers expressed positive reasons for their choice of strategy. Compared with the pupils, the teachers' responses were more weighted towards favouring integration rather than a separate subject. They were also more evenly split between wary and positive replies than the pupils, of whom two-thirds gave positive responses and one-third wary replies.

When the teachers' responses to this question were examined for variation, identity proved to be a significant source of differences. The crucial variation is in the degree of wariness exhibited by the different identity groups about the means of expanding teaching about Ireland. 15% (2 out of 13) of the Irishness primary group gave a wary reply, whether with respect to the integration of Irish Studies or to the introduction of Irish Studies as a separate subject. This compares with 60% (6 out of 10) of the Irishnesws secondary group and 63% (10 out of 16) of Irishness absent group who were wary about one or other strategy. This difference between the Irishness primary group and the other two groups is significant at the .02 level.

TABLE 13

TEACHERS: PREFERENCE FOR INTEGRATED OR SEPARATE TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE(39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY(13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY(10)	IRISH/ ABSENT(16)
INTEGRATE/WARY	41%(16)	15%(2)	40%(4)	63%(10)
INTEGRATE/POSITIVE	31%(12)	46%(6)	20%(2)	25%(4)
SEPARATE/WARY	5%(2)	0%	20%(2)	0%
SEPARATE/POSITIVE	13%(5)	23%(3)	0%	13%(2)
BOTH	8%(3)	8%(1)	20%(2)	0%
D K	3%(1)	8%(1)	0%	0%

4.2.3 Question 13: Do you think Catholic schools have a special responsibility to teach about Ireland

Overall nearly two-thirds of the teachers, 64% (25 out of 39), thought that Catholic schools did have some specific responsibility to teach about Ireland (see table 14). Although, as the figures indicate, over half of these teachers couched their affirmative response in wary terms. Almost one-third, 31% (12 out of 39), of the staff thought that Catholic schools definitely did not have a special responsibility to teach about Ireland.

As with the pupils, there was a wide variation in the reasons given for this negative response, which will be discussed in the commentary below. 46% (6 out of 13) of the teachers who had selected Irish identity as primary answered unambiguously that they did think Catholic schools had a special responsibility to teach about Ireland. This contrasted with just 6% (1 out of 16) of the teachers who did not select an Irish identity giving this response. This difference is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 14

TEACHERS: RESPONSIBILITY OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS FOR TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
YES	5% (2)	0%	0%	13% (2)
YES/WARY	36% (14)	31% (4)	50% (5)	31% (5)
YES/POSITIVE	23% (9)	46% (6)	20% (2)	6% (1)
UNCERTAIN	5% (2)	0%	0%	13% (2)
NO	31% (12)	23% (3)	20% (2)	44% (7)

4.2.4 Discussion

The majority of the staff interviewed for this study were of the view that there should be more teaching on Ireland in schools in this country; that any expansion of Irish Studies should be integrated into existing subjects; and that Catholic schools did have a special responsibility to teach about Ireland. The reasons that the teachers gave for thinking that curriculum content on Ireland should be increased fell into three categories. Two of these categories - 'roots' and Northern Ireland - were the same as the reasons the pupils had given. However, none of the staff gave prejudice against the Irish as a reason for increasing teaching about Ireland as the pupils had done. The third category of replies the teachers gave involved direct comments about the shortcomings of the existing curriculum:

> Difficult, because exam boards don't recognise it but everyone in England should learn about Ireland.

> Yes, I learnt nothing from my London school whereas at school in Ireland we learnt a lot about Britain, should be general as well as for people of Irish background.

> Yes, in the same way people are unaware of Scots and Welsh, especially in the South East where they think everyone has their culture.

> Yes, Irish history is interconnected with English, as is Scotland and Wales, whereas up to O level only taught English history. English pupils in English schools should do more than just English history.

> Yes, Scotland and Wales are also ignored, there's a case for widening the curriculum.

The teachers who made the above type of comments about why teaching on Ireland should be expanded formed the largest single group, 50% (14 out of 28) of those answering the question in the affirmative. On the other hand, 32% (9 out of 28) of the teachers thought Ireland should be included to a greater degree in the curriculum because of the need to explain the situation in Northern Ireland and 18% (5 out of 28) stressed the need to teach about pupils' background.

This concern of the teachers for the transmission of a more comprehensive body of knowledge about Ireland was also reflected in the replies of those who highlighted Northern Ireland as a reason for extending teaching on Ireland:

> Yes, need in any humanities programme to see contemporary issues through eyes of both sides, not just Great Britain all the time. Textbooks are not up to the task, I have to change the emphasis myself.
>
> People should be made aware of the situation, are very ignorant, for example, don't know what the Six Counties are.
>
> Yes, especially for Northern Ireland, still handled with too much delicacy in schools.
>
> Yes, very few English know about Northern Ireland and history of what brought it about.

Other teachers in the sample, however, are more concerned with the relationship between curriculum content and the formation of consciousness. All of the staff who comment on this assume there is a link between what pupils in school are taught and the formation of ethnic identity, although they vary on whether this should be encouraged. Those who are in favour state that:

> Yes, it's ignored, it's terrible, a lot of children have no idea of Irish history, it's not passed on by the parents.
>
> Yes, a lot are from an Irish background and not brought into acquaintance with it enough. Probably feel like me, mixed up about it.
>
> Yes, many have Irish links, it's ridiculous that we did reams on South American geography and nothing on Ireland.

On the other hand, the teachers who thought there should be no increase in teaching on Ireland focused on the undesirability of fostering 'ethnic' consciousness, which they saw as the inevitable consequence of such an extension to the curriculum:

> No, essentially children of Irish background are English, no roots at all. Would be difficult to justify founding a separate Irish Studies, have to avoid the indoctrination involved and development of a sub-culture.
>
> Not necessarily, in the British Isles there are a range of people, it's good to have awareness but I'm against engineered consciousness. People move to a new country and have to integrate.

In the next question a majority of the teachers preferred the integration of any expansion of teaching about Ireland into existing subject areas. Many of those who opted for the strategy of integration did so because they were wary of the impact that increasing the curriculum content on Ireland might have:

> Integrate, no excuse for picking it out, an awful lot would have objections as there's no sympathy for Irish.
>
> Integrate, some parents might not understand and think it might be IRA indoctrination if it was separate.
>
> Integrate, if it was separate makes it a special situation, implying they're vastly different from us. Should be more on background but to come in incidentally.
>
> Integrate, Irish or Black Studies are too separatist, though might work for adults. I know some of the sixth form go to Irish lessons.
>
> Danger with the multi-cultural stuff is that it can swing the pendulum too much in the other direction because it's fashionable. I look at the staff and think would I trust them to teach Irish history. This dosen't mean they should only teach English history, if it was brought in as they go along could teach about how English oppressed and exploited the colonies.

These comments demonstrate that either the spectre of Northern Ireland or anxieties concerning 'ethnicity' account for the large number of staff who gave wary reasons for thinking that any expansion of teaching about Ireland should be integrated into the existing curriculum.

However, other teachers had a different perspective on the advantages of integration as a strategy:

> Integrate, if it was an option might not be chosen or encouraged, for example, for the academic child.

> Integrate, if a separate subject would be too compartmentalised.
>
> It would be better brought into the mainstream teaching and not left as an option to only reach those already interested.
>
> Integrate, because the wealth of history could contribute.
>
> Integrate, if it was separate it would only attract those already interested. There's a lot of pressure against the Irish in England now and it would put that in perspective.

Significantly fewer of those who selected Irishness as their primary identity gave a wary response on integration, whereas significantly more of those who did not select an Irish identity opted for integration as a strategy because they were wary of introducing more teaching about Ireland. This suggests that those with an Irish identity are mainly concerned with the best means of rectifying what they perceive as a deficiency in curriculum content. The responses of the Irishness absent group highlight their awareness of the contentiousness of Ireland or the Irish as an issue.

Most of the teachers who opted for teaching Irish Studies as a separate subject did so for positive reasons:

> Separate, would be more realistic than bringing into existing subjects. The problem would be no exam, but the kids would be interested.
>
> Yes, should have Irish Studies and West Indians should have Black Studies as well.
>
> Separate, terrible inertia in British curriculum and would take too long to bring it in and anyway

> Irish Studies is a rich field.

> Separate, it would be nice to have Irish Studies in the first to third years. A lot are from the South and it's their right to look at their roots.

In response to the final question in this section of the interview, 64% of the teachers indicated that Catholic schools did have a special responsibility to teach about Ireland. However, the general tenor of many of these responses was rather guarded: over half gave a qualified or wary reply. When these are considered with the responses of those who answered negatively they give the impression of a caution when commenting in what might be perceived as a critical manner about the role of Catholic schooling.

As noted earlier, significant differences emerged amongst the sample on this question. The teachers who had selected Irish as their primary identity were more likely to be critical in their comments on Catholic schools in the course of stating that they thought they did have a responsibility to teach about Ireland:

> Yes, although don't know how, doesn't get across unless teachers have some identity themselves. Kids are crying out to know more.

> Yes, if anyone has they have. They don't play as high a part in such developments as they should. It's coming now because of multi-culturalism.

> Yes, have a bigger responsibility than we own up to.

> Could lead the struggle but I don't know if the hierarchy would be disposed to that. Irish seem taken for granted when you look at the curriculum.

> There's obvious neglect. Anglo-Irish relations is a valid topic for anyone but there is an extra reluctance in Catholic schools. Saddest thing is the anti-Irish feeling amongst the second generation, having assumed the dominant culture.

Although the numbers are too small to produce statistical significances, a higher percentage of the teachers who said that Catholic schools did not have a special responsibility to teach about Ireland were drawn from the Irishness absent group than either of the two groups who selected an Irish identity. Most of the teachers who did not think responsibility particularly accrued to Catholic schools were either defensive of the schools or denied the validity of it as a specific enterprise for Catholic schools:

> It's not surprising that they don't, England and Ireland have been intermingled for so long that there's no need to make a separate issue of it.

> No - although should come in as much as anywhere else.

> No - 'as in Rome' etc - we have to teach English culture, the children don't feel the need, though that doesn't mean it isn't a valid subject.

> No, surprising that they haven't, but it's a good thing because there are enough cultural and economic links between Ireland and England so as not to regard them as separate. Although they do regard themselves as separate. Should deal with it as any other country with a bit more because it's closer and a current issue.

These comments deny the specificity of Irish experience and culture and assume that assimilation is the proper course for minority groups. In

doing so, the teachers of Irish descent who have not selected an Irish identity as important express sentiments which are within the compass of the dominant culture.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The evidence presented in this chapter indicates that the relationship between Catholicism and Irish identity is complex. For a majority of the respondents Catholicism represents their family/community. For the London pupils Catholic communality is bound closely to the Irish Catholic communities in which they live. The Liverpool pupils and those staff who refer to Catholic communality also mean that it gives them 'a sense of belonging', but to a body of Catholics rather than an identifiable national grouping. This suggests that herein lies part of the basis of the incorporation of the Irish in Britain. A 'communality' which is perceived as fusing Irishness and Catholicism, especially by the London pupils, becomes for the group of adults classified as 'Irishness absent' the distinguishing feature of Catholicism per se. This interpretation is given further credence by the responses of the group of adults classified as 'Irishness primary'. Their low incidence of citing 'Catholic communality' as the meaning of their religion to them, together with the tenor of their comments, suggests that this group recognise the incorporation process and perceive that it entails denial of the Irish dimension of the communal experience.

These findings also suggest that it has been a struggle for the Church to ensure that a religious identity is ascendent amongst its Irish congregation. The Church has won the struggle in the public sphere. This is borne out by the responses of the pupils about the lack of distinctiveness of Catholic schools, 'only' religion separates them from other schools. Further, the schools are not distinguished by a high incidence of teaching about Ireland. The teachers are well aware of the particularity of Catholic schools and are in the main defensive of them. However, the Irishness primary group want to rectify the the lack of Irish content in the curriculum and think that Catholic schools have a specific

reponsibility in relation to such content. The responses of the pupils and teachers in general about more teaching about Ireland indicate the extent of the interest that exists about Ireland and the effects of the lack of such teaching. In the private sphere, at home or in the community, Ireland is talked about and Irishness remains relevant. This is demonstrated in the replies of the London pupils and the staff.

For the Liverpool pupils the situation is different. They have been reared in a city in which Catholicism is acknowledged as a major religion but the Irish context of its history is masked in the public sphere. This is revealed both by the descriptions of the curriculum of the schools and by the pupils' overwhelming response in favour of more teaching about Ireland. The suggestion is that their interest in knowing more about Ireland stems from having been reared in a Liverpudlian culture which, in the private sphere, includes awareness of the Irish antecedents of much of the city's population.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

FINDINGS: NORTHERN IRELAND

1. INTRODUCTION

In this section of the interview the respondents were asked a series of questions about Northern Ireland and its impact on their lives in Britain. The intention of this section of the interview is to explore whether Northern Ireland is a crucial context for raising issues of nationality and for activating the stereotype of the Irish as violent. The aim is to explore whether Northern Ireland is a taboo subject in the sample of Catholic schools under study and what the consequences of this are for the staff and pupils.

Since 1968 and the renewal of overt hostilities in Northern Ireland there has been a bipartisan consensus in Britain about what 'The Troubles' represent. This is exemplified by both the media coverage of Northern Ireland and the content of the school curriculum on the causes of the re-emergence of the 'Irish Question'. A prime characteristic of this consensus is the emphasis on Britain's peace-keeping role in Northern Ireland. Of interest here is whether the sample of teachers and pupils, all either born in Ireland or of Irish descent, interpreted the situation in Northern Ireland in accordance with or at variance to this dominant consensus.

2. NORTHERN IRELAND

There were three questions in this part of the interview:

22. What impression do you think people in this country get of the Irish from the media coverage of Northern Ireland?

23. What do you see as the main causes of what is happening in Northern Ireland?

24. What do you think should happen in Northern Ireland?

2.1 THE PUPILS

2.1.1 Question 22: What impression do you think people in this country get of the Irish from media coverage of Northern Ireland

In developing the coding categories for this question the aim was to delineate the different ways in which the British media coverage of Northern Ireland conveys the impression of the Irish as violent. The respondents who emphasised that the Irish are portrayed as a characteristically violent people are coded as 'socially violent'. Included under 'politically violent' are the replies that commented on the media's representation of the Irish as prone to use violence for political ends. The third category, 'culturally violent' refers to the explicit contrast between the British and the Irish character on the issue of violence. The other coding categories are 'irrational' and 'sympathetic'.

All but one of the 66 pupils interviewed thought that the media coverage of Northern Ireland portrayed the Irish as violent (see table 1). The only differences lay in the specification of the type of violence which

the media attributed to the Irish. This will be examined in the discussion section later.

TABLE 1

PUPILS: PERCEPTIONS OF INFLUENCE OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF NORTHERN IRELAND ON BRITISH VIEWS OF IRISH

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
SOCIALLY VIOLENT	52%(34)	61%(16)	45%(18)
POLITICALLY VIOLENT	38%(25)	31%(8)	43%(17)
CULTURALLY VIOLENT	9%(6)	8%(2)	10%(4)
IRRATIONAL	0%	0%	0%
SYMPATHETIC	2%(1)	0%	3%(1)

2.1.2 Question 23: What do you see as the main causes of what is happening in Northern Ireland

Six categories were developed to code the replies to this question. The respondents who thought the primary cause of what is happening in Northern Ireland is rooted in the relationship between Britain and Ireland are coded as 'relations between Britain and Ireland'. 'Relations between Protestants and Catholics' includes those who saw the main cause as the conflict between Protestants and Catholics. Some respondents thought that

blame for the situation lies with all parties, including Britain, they are coded as 'all responsible'. Others cited the use of violence as the cause of problems in Northern Ireland. A few respondents referred to economic causes, while others stated that they did not know what the main causes were.

TABLE 2

PUPILS: MAIN CAUSES OF NORTHERN IRELAND CRISIS

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN & IRELAND	50%(33)	69%(18)	38%(15)
RELATIONS BETWEEN PROTESTANTS & CATHOLICS	24%(16)	8%(2)	35%(14)
ALL RESPONSIBLE	6%(4)	8%(2)	5%(2)
VIOLENCE	8%(5)	8%(2)	8%(3)
ECONOMIC	2%(1)	0%	3%(1)
D K	9%(6)	8%(2)	10%(4)

Half of the pupils indicated thought that they thought the main cause of the situation in Northern Ireland is the relationship between Britain and Ireland (see table 2). However, significantly more pupils held this view in London than in Liverpool. In London 69% (18 out of 26) of the

pupils gave this response, whereas in Liverpool 38% (15 out of 40) of the pupils thought relations between Britain and Ireland were largely responsible for what is happening in Northern Ireland. This difference between the two samples is significant at the .05 level. The second largest grouping amongst the pupils, 24% (16 out of 66), are those who thought relations between Protestants and Catholics are responsible for what is happening in Northern Ireland. Although not statistically significant, it is interesting that 14 of the 16 pupils who thought the relationship between the two religious groups is the main cause are in the Liverpool sample.

2.1.3 Question 24: What do you thnik should happen in Northern Ireland?

There were a variety of responses to this question. The replies which suggested that Northern Ireland belonged to the Republic and that the border should go are coded as 'united Ireland'. People who thought the solution is talks involving all sides, including the Republicans, are grouped under 'negotiations'. The group of respondents who thought that the situation should be left to the Irish to sort out are coded as 'Their problem'. Those who consided that no solution can be found until the rule of law holds sway are coded as 'internal order'. The respondents who replied that Northern Ireland should form a state separate from the Republic and the United Kingdom are included in the category 'Independence'. Some respondents thought the solution lies in further resources and social policy initiatives and these are coded as 'social planning'. There were others who thought there is no solution, these are coded as 'stalemate'. Finally, there is a 'don't know' category.

Only two possible options in Northern Ireland, a united Ireland or imposing internal order, had the support of a fifth or more of the pupils (see table 3a). It is of interest to note the overall similarity in the distribution of responses in London and Liverpool, except in the numbers who did not know what should happen in Northern Ireland. This difference is not statistically significant but may be worth noting. In Liverpool 36% (14 out of 40) of the pupils considered that they just 'don't know' what

the solution for Northern Ireland is, or state that the situation appears to have no solution. In London only 16% (4 out of 26) gave either of these responses.

In London the responses of the pupils varied according to the identity they selected (see table 3b). The striking difference in the replies lies in the incidence of pupils of different identities giving either of the first two responses. The responses of either 'united Ireland' or 'negotiations' are distinct from the other replies because each, in different ways, gives credence to the Republican rationale for events in Northern Ireland. In London 43% (9 out of 21) of the pupils who selected an Irish identity suggested that either a united Ireland should happen in Northern Ireland or that negotiations should take place between all sides. On the other hand, none of the pupils who had selected a non-Irish identity (that is, a regional identity or British/English) gave either of these replies. This difference between the pupils who selected an Irish identity and those who did not is significant at the .05 level (zero in cell).

TABLE 3a

PUPILS: SOLUTIONS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
UNITED IRELAND	21%(14)	35%(9)	13%(5)
NEGOTIATIONS	15%(10)	15%(4)	15%(6)
'THEIR PROBLEM'	9%(6)	8%(2)	10%(4)
INTERNAL ORDER	24%(16)	27%(7)	23%(9)
INDEPENDENCE	0%	0%	0%
SOCIAL PLANNING	3%(2)	0%	5%(2)
STALEMATE	8%(5)	8%(2)	8%(3)
D K	20%(13)	8%(2)	28%(11)

TABLE 3b

LONDON PUPILS: SOLUTIONS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ACCORDING TO IDENTITY

Response	Identity	
	IRISH IDENTITIES(21)	NON-IRISH IDENTITIES(5)
UNITED IRELAND	43%(9)	0%
NEGOTIATIONS	19%(4)	0%
'THEIR PROBLEM'	5%(1)	20%(1)
INTERNAL ORDER	19%(4)	60%(3)
INDEPENDENCE	0%	0%
SOCIAL PLANNING	0%	0%
STALEMATE	5%(1)	20%(1)
D K	9%(2)	0%

2.1.4 DISCUSSION

The opening question of this section of the interview asked the respondents what image of the Irish they considered is given by the media coverage of Northern Ireland. The bias of the British media's portrayal of events in the North has been well documented elsewhere (for example, Curtis

1984). The purpose of the question was to explore whether the impact of the coverage is perceived as a problem by the sample of people of Irish descent. The pupils reported that the media coverage rendered only one image of the Irish: that of a violent people. Just over half the pupils said the media portrayal is of a people whose inherent social characteristic is to be violent:

> Out for trouble - all rowdy.
>
> Ruffians, all good for nothing except drinking and causing trouble.
>
> Most are cruel, don't care about other people, fighting for fun..
>
> Violent, no respect for human life, kill for no reason.
>
> Bad people, all for violence, you'd think that if you didn't know two sides of it.
>
> Very violent place and you'd be frightened to live there.
>
> Gang of barbaric, stupid people.
>
> Bloodthirsty killers - no one talks about anything else about Ireland.
>
> A bloody place - always war and fighting, not a safe place to live. The press do these things to make people not think of their own problems.

Rowdy, out for trouble, bloodthirtsy, cruel, barbaric, these are the characteristics of the Irish and Ireland is an inherently violent society.

This is the impact of the British media's coverage of Northern Ireland in the opinion of many pupils in both London and Liverpool.

Over a third of the pupils emphasised the specific concentration on the IRA and forms of Republican political violence:

> Bunch of murderers - generally against law and order.
>
> Bad people - shooting policemen - you'd think they were horrible.
>
> Bad impression, publicise IRA to a bad extent. Once saw a documentary which showed both sides but in general hold to the IRA. Don't tend to show either Irish people who don't want fighting and killing or what the British soldiers are really doing.
>
> Very bad - all Irish out to kill English soldiers.
>
> Go around shooting everyone, want the soldiers out and don't like politicians.

The image of the Irish portrayed by the media coverage of Northern Ireland is based upon the Irish as prone to violence and also on a biased account of the Republican opposition to the State and its agencies: the police and the army. It can be inferred from the pupils' statements that the image of the Irish is 'bad' because they are shown to be inherently against the legitimate public authorities and responsible for all the violence.

A small number of the pupils commented directly on the British media's explicit depiction of the Irish as culturally inferior to the English:

> Lower than the English - just kill for enjoyment.

> Not a good impression - because of this English make Irish out to be worse than the British.
>
> Impression is that our soldiers are gallant and the Irish are a load of thugs - don't agree myself.

The cultural violence resides in the media's own coverage of events in Northern Ireland. The coverage ensures the regeneration of the stereotype of the Irish as an inherently inferior people because of their propensity to violent means for the resolution of political problems. These comments suggest that the stereotype of the Irish operates today as in the 19th century: to differentiate and define by opposition what constitutes 'Britishness' or 'the British way'.

In the next question the pupils were asked what they thought are the causes of what is happening in Northern Ireland. The most significant set of responses is those of the pupils who said that relations between Britain and Ireland are the cause of what is happening in Northern Ireland.

> They want to be free and the army's there and the government won't let them be free, so going against it.
>
> If look into it, the good history books, it seems they're an army of occupation. I can't look at it clearly because of my parents, dad gets very het up about anything anti-Irish.
>
> The British presence in Northern Ireland. Ulster being taken away from the rest of the country.
>
> If someone came over and took over half your country, of course you'd retaliate.

> The Irish want to get Britain out of Northern Ireland so can be a united Ireland, get the English army out.
>
> British stole land off the Irish and they divided the country up. Should give it back and the troops should come out - might or might not stop the IRA - could be Wales or Liverpool, no one wants soldiers walking up and down all the time.
>
> Always thought Ireland belongs to the Irish - we've invaded it and not let them have their own government - so Britain took Ireland over and Irish want it back for themselves.
>
> British are over there, Irish don't like them going into their houses, dragging them to gaol and searching them.
>
> Britain wanted to come in and take over everything, Irish resisting. I would as well, can't wait to get away from this place, National Front and everything.

The emphasis in these responses is on the illegitimacy of the British presence in Northern Ireland and on the understandable basis of Irish resistance to this presence. The illegitimacy of the British presence is explained both in terms of the history of British colonialism - 'British stole land off the Irish' - and in terms of current practices - 'going into their homes, dragging them to gaol and searching them'. Half the pupils gave these types of replies. These explanations of Northern Ireland are outside the bipartisan consensus with its emphasis on Britain's peace-keeping role in the North. It is very interesting that the largest groupings in each city gave this response about what is happening in Northern Ireland. Nonetheless, significantly more did so in London compared with Liverpool. This suggests two things: that the migrants of the 1950's and 1960's to London, and their children, have not been

incorporated into the dominant consensus that exists in Britain to explain events in Northern Ireland; that in Liverpool alternative explanations of Britain's relations with Ireland continue to have currency despite the official consensus on Northern Ireland.

A quarter of the pupils said that they thought relations between the Protestants and Catholics are responsible for what is happening in Northern Ireland:

> Catholics want a united Ireland and the Protestants want to keep Britain and that causes fighting.
>
> It's a mixed religious thing and I don't think the Irish like that because it's a very religious country.
>
> Catholics and Protestants against each other and we're there to stop it and have got caught up in it and are taking the brunt of it.
>
> Catholics and Protestants don't get on with each other.
>
> Religious differences between them. Main thing is to stop the fighting, don't know how, it's stupid anyway.

Of the 16 pupils who gave this type of response, two were in London and 14 in Liverpool. Although not statistically significant, this is worth noting because the above explanations of Northern Ireland are characteristic of the official consensus in Britain on the subject. It is a viewpoint which supports the notion of two warring tribes based on religion which only British rule and law enforcement keep at bay.

The next question asked the respondents what they thought should happen in Northern Ireland. The replies to this question are far more varied than to the previous question. Just over a quarter of the pupils said the situation is a stalemate or they did not know what should happen. This might reflect a number of different factors: for example, that the consensus on Northern Ireland is that of an intractable problem, or the fact that these pupils are of an age when they are not able to remember a time when 'The Troubles' did not exist. However, many of the pupils did venture to suggest possible solutions. Two suggestions can be distinguished from the others - united Ireland and negotiations - each involves giving credence to the Republican rationale for actions in Northern Ireland and elsewhere. Below are typical replies of pupils who thought there should be a united Ireland:

> The Six Counties should be given back, because the border is the cause. Ireland should be all one but don't know if could cope with cost of it.
>
> If Britain gave back the states they've got, all troubles would be over.
>
> Should give it back but lots saying you shouldn't, so it's going on a long time.
>
> Should chance pulling troops out and try a united Ireland.
>
> English should get out and leave them to run their country for themselves.
>
> Should try and unify all Ireland, instead of two separate countries. Both could then work together instead of against each other.

> A lot say should clear the IRA out with the army, I don't. I think they should have a chance to have their own government.

In the above quotations the pupils continue the theme of Britain's illegitimate possession of Northern Ireland.

The comments of pupils who thought negotiations were appropriate are as follows:

> Everyone round a big table and talk, also British troops should be reduced. Take all walls down and different groups mingle. Bit like Israeli army, should be leaving Lebanon bit by bit.

> Should come to an agreement, as fighting not getting anywhere, everyone involved. Either everyone agrees to army staying or being withdrawn.

> Get the troops out, pick 15 people from the Catholic and Protestant sides and let them talk it out. When you go round and see the trucks, uniforms and tear gas, you feel it's violent and makes it worse.

> Should get them all to live together as a community and sort out their problems - instead of saying they go blowing everyone up, because must be something behind it.

> Need to get together, must be rebelling for a reason, talk about it and sort it out.

The pupils who suggest negotiations credit a rationality and legitimacy to the Republican position, because it is clear they think there must be a reason behind the fighting and any negotiations should include the Republicans. There is no significant difference between the London and

Liverpool samples. This is interesting for two reasons. First, it might have been expected that proportionally more of the London pupils would have given answers to the question of what to do in Northern Ireland in line with current Republican demands, that is, troops out and a united Ireland. Second, it gives further support to the suggestion that in Liverpool alternative perceptions of events in Northern Ireland exist outside the dominant consensus on Northern Ireland.

However, in London, significantly more of the pupils who selected an Irish identity gave united Ireland or negotiations as their response compared with the London pupils who did not select an Irish identity. This suggests that identity is the key factor in determining whether a pupil in London will accept the dominant consensus on Northern Ireland when being asked to speculate on what should happen in Northern Ireland. As will be recalled, the London sample were significantly more likely than the Liverpool sample to resist this consensus when explaining the causes of events in the North, and there were no significant internal differences in the London sample on that question.

The only other sizeable category of response were those who saw maintaining internal order as the solution:

> If the soldiers went out it would be a holy war, Protestants versus Catholics. However, should get out and let the United Nations take over. The soldiers do seem to excite bad feeling among the people.
>
> Should gradually take troops out and if doesn't work, put them back in again.
>
> Government should have kept it under more control. If they had a prime minister and more police to control the violence.

> Terrorists are the main problem. If they were caught would improve things a lot.
>
> Suppose should be given it, but might run wild because never ruled own place before.
>
> Used to think the troops should be brought out - but now I think there would be anarchy and they are keeping a bit of discipline.

These responses are securely within the official consensus on Northern Ireland. They identify the violence in the situation as being the major consideration. Internal order has to be established as the necessary prerequisite for progress. The chief means of achieving this is further applications of troops or police. These comments are based on a perception of the Irish as inherently divided and not being able to rule themselves and, therefore, requiring Britian as arbiter and peacemaker. In both London and Liverpool internal order is the view of approximately a quarter of the respondents. Amongst the London pupils this view is more typical of those who did not select an Irish identity.

2.2 THE TEACHERS

2.2.1 Question 22: What impression do you think people in this country get of the Irish from the media coverage of Northern Ireland?

As had been the case with the pupils, all but one of the 39 teachers interviewed thought that the media coverage of Northern Ireland portrays the Irish as violent (see table 4).

TABLE 4

TEACHERS: PERCEPTIONS OF INFLUENCE OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF NORTHERN IRELAND ON BRITISH VIEWS OF IRISH

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
SOCIALLY VIOLENT	10% (4)	0%	20% (2)	13% (2)
POLITICALLY VIOLENT	49% (19)	54% (7)	50% (5)	44% (7)
CULTURALLY VIOLENT	38% (15)	46% (6)	30% (3)	38% (6)
SYMPATHETIC	3% (1)	0%	0%	6% (1)

2.2.2 Question 23: What do you think are the main causes of what is happening in Northern Ireland?

Again, just as with the pupils, half of the teachers thought that the main cause of the problems in Northern Ireland is relations between Britain and Ireland (see table 5a). However, 77% (10 out of 13) of the teachers who selected Irish as their primary identity said that Anglo-Irish relations are the main cause, compared with 25% (4 out of 16) of the teachers who did not select an Irish identity. This difference between the Irishness primary group and the Irishness absent group is significant at the .02 level. It is interesting that none of the teachers said 'don't

know' in reply to this question, whereas 9% of the pupils gave this reply.

TABLE 5a

TEACHERS: MAIN CAUSES OF EVENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY(13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY(10)	IRISH/ ABSENT(16)
RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN & IRELAND	51%(20)	77%(10)	60%(6)	25%(4)
RELATIONS BETWEEN PROTESTANTS & CATHOLICS	23%(9)	15%(2)	30%(3)	25%(4)
ALL RESPONSIBLE	15%(6)	0%	10%(1)	31%(5)
VIOLENCE	3%(1)	0%	0%	6%(1)
ECONOMIC	8%(3)	8%(1)	0%	13%(2)
D K	0%	0%	0%	0%

Significant variations are also produced in the teachers' pattern of replies when they are examined according to the social-class background of the respondents. Significantly fewer of the teachers from a non-manual backgroud said that the relationship between Britain and Ireland is the cause of what is happening in Northern Ireland (see table 5b). 33% (7 out of 21) of the middle-class teachers thought that Anglo-Irish relations are

the cause, compared with 72% (14 out of 18) of the working-class teachers. This difference between the middle-class and working-class teachers is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 5b

TEACHERS: MAIN CAUSES OF EVENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Response	Social Class	
	NON-MANUAL (21)	MANUAL (18)
RELATIONS BETWEEN BRITAIN & IRELAND	33% (7)	72% (13)
RELATIONS BETWEEN PROTESTANTS & CATHOLICS	33% (7)	11% (2)
ALL RESPONSIBLE	19% (4)	11% (2)
VIOLENCE	5% (1)	0%
ECONOMIC	9% (2)	5% (1)
D K	0%	0%

2.2.3 Question 24: What do you think should happen in Northern Ireland?

It is interesting that just over 40% (16 out of 39) of the teachers answered that either they considered the situation in Northern Ireland to be a stalemate or they did not know what should happen there (see table 6). The main variation in the teachers' responses lies in the different identity groupings on the first two responses, 'united Ireland' or 'negotiations', both of which give some credence to the Republican rationale of events in Northern Ireland. 54% (7 out of 13) of the teachers who selected Irish as their primary identity said that they thought either a united Ireland or negotiations involving all sides is the way forward In contrast, only 13% (2 out of 16) of the teachers who did not select an Irish identity gave either of these responses. This difference between the Irishness primary group and the Irishness absent group is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 6

TEACHERS: SOLUTIONS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
UNITED IRELAND	3% (1)	8% (1)	0%	0%
NEGOTIATIONS	26% (10)	46% (6)	20% (2)	13% (2)
'THEIR PROBLEM'	15% (6)	23% (3)	10% (1)	13% (2)
INTERNAL ORDER	3% (1)	0%	0%	6% (1)
SOCIAL PLANNING	10% (4)	0%	10% (1)	19% (3)
STALEMATE	15% (6)	23% (3)	10% (1)	13% (2)
D K	26% (10)	0%	50% (5)	31% (5)

2.2.4 Discussion

The overwhelming majority of the teachers, as of the pupils, considered that the predominant image portrayed by the media shows the Irish as a violent people. There are no significant differences between the teachers on this question. The teachers particularly referred to the image of the Irish as politically violent:

> Very unbalanced, don't realise the distinction between the North and the South, see it as all the Irish. See the IRA as out to kill and nothing else.
>
> Since the abolition of Stormont: two savage tribes at each other's throats. The old Victorian images of the Irish creeping back, for example, in cartoons.
>
> Strong impression, they're not helping themselves to solve it, and bringing it over here. In my local branch of the Labour party, Livingstone's invitation to Gerry Adams was very unpopular. Whereas I thought it was great - someone's got to do it.
>
> All a gang of murdering bastards, out to destroy the state, no concern with law and order. The media coverage is totally without sympathy for the Republican cause - are terrorists, this means IRA, the people who want Irish unity. Don't think British people would condone the Protestant paramilitaries, but are not aware of them.
>
> See people ranting and raving with hate and say, 'God, what sort of people are they'. Only pictures are of barricades and torn-down housing, not the beauty of Northern Ireland.
>
> Difficult to understand, particularly the terrorists - get no sense of the history of it. Why the IRA want Ireland united and why the Protestant majority don't.

The teachers made direct comments on the violent images of Northern Ireland presenting a very biased view of events and obscuring the underlying causes of the situation. The Republican forces are portrayed as 'murdering bastards, out to destroy the State' and the two communities in the North as

'savage tribes'. This is generalised into an image of the Irish as a whole.

Many teachers also commented on how the media coverage of Northern Ireland produced an image of the Irish as culturally inferior:

> Distorted - Irish all irrational and violent.
>
> Illogical, grudge-bearing and vindictive, an ignorant people who won't forget events which the media assures us are all in the past.
>
> Vicious, stupid, self-centred, arrogant and violent people.
>
> Barbarians, savage - a lot therefore think no good can come out of Ireland.
>
> Hotheads who want to go around killing. Revolts the English, English way is not killing, therefore the Irish are primitive.

These teachers' responses cite a systematic representation by the media of the Irish as irremediably violent and 'beyond the pale'. These images, prompted by the situation in Northern Ireland, are embedded in stereotypes of the Irish which are fundamental to British culture.

The next question concerned the causes of what is happening in Northern Ireland. Significant differences emerged between the teachers. Half the teachers held the view that relations between Britain and Ireland are responsible for events in the North:

> The immediate cause is that it's part of the general politicisation in the late 60s, civil rights movement was students, government was sectarian and not able to deal with civil rights demands. Overall

it's the product of British colonial decline and lack of proper preparation for independence for Ireland and imposition of totally unworkable geographic solution.

British presence in Northern Ireland, it's an historical thing . I'm very opposed to the British presence, it's an imperialist occupation.

Root cause is England's attitude to Ireland, old imperialist attitude supporting Protestant majority which is really a minority. England holding on to its interests.

British imperialism, not evolved with the times. For example, Falklands syndrome: 'will talk about anything but can't have it back'. Also religion comes in, in a sense, as an unwillingness to accept human rights and freedom of religion. For example, the Act of Union and Succession is still on the statute books and represents a Protestant supremacy.

The consequences of the empire - Britain has left the same legacy elsewhere where they're killing and shooting each other as a result.

We were there 400 years ago and the Irish possibly treated more unfairly than Indians, certainly more than the Welsh or the Scots. Shouldn't have been in the first place (nor in Wales or Scotland). An alien power, moneyed minority objected to Home Rule and a 'cowardly compromise' was reached. The arrangement was wrong and the important sixth of Ireland was kept. The Irish accepted with a gun at their heads. Main cause was that the majority after

> gerrymandering maintained their position by outrageous tactics.
>
> Historical problem, the control of religion and land by an alien people out to pacify or control the Irish.

The comments of the teachers are strikingly more full of historical detail than those of the pupils. The emphasis is on the historical background to the present situation in Northern Ireland, on the unfinished business of British colonial control of all Ireland. Significantly more of the teachers who selected Irish as their primary identity gave this response compared with the teachers who did not select an Irish identity. Further, significantly more of the teachers from a working-class background considered that Britain's relations with Ireland are responsible for the events in Northern Ireland, compared with the teachers from a middle-class background. Thus identity and social class are the crucial differentiators suggesting that the teachers from an Irish working-class background are more likely to subscribe to a nationalist position on Northern Ireland.

As with the pupils, the second largest group of responses about the causes of events in the North cited relations between the Protestants and Catholics:

> A religious war - history goes back, if Home Rule had been granted in 1914 wouldn't have happened. Northern Ireland was inevitable because of the conditions of the Catholics. Now a lot in Northern Ireland don't want to come into the South for social and religious reasons.
>
> Tribalism - psychological, social and historical causes built into tribal feelings which result from nationalism and hasn't been allowed to die. Same feelings died out in England now.

> Clash of two cultures - different aspirations in fulfilling their identities, underpinned by religious divide. Can't remove historical fear and suspicion - polarised by religion, history and politics.
>
> People not prepared to sit down and talk, entrenchment of historical bigotry. Irish should be able to sort it out themselves, don't really understand it.

These responses are more likely to be made by teachers who did not select an Irish identity and by those from a middle-class background. This suggests that they, compared with teachers who selected an Irish identity as primary and those from a working-class background, are more likely to hold views on Northern Ireland in accord with the dominant consensus in Britain about events in the North.

The last question in this section of the interview asked the respondents what they thought should be done in Northern Ireland. 40% of the teachers said that they did not know or considered the situation to be a stalemate:

> Don't know, so many varying factors, just going on separate tracks all the time.
>
> No idea, hoping apathy will take over again.
>
> Don't know, most difficult problem facing the government.
>
> Don't know, defeated everyone.
>
> Don't know, thought direct rule was the obvious thing but been a disaster.

> Don't know, ultimately a united Ireland, but how? Too easy to say get army out and let them fight it out.

These replies are all the more striking because the teachers responses in all other questions have included very few 'don't knows'. It is the intractability of the situation which is quoted as making a solution impossible.

Amongst the teachers who proposed possible courses of action the largest single grouping suggested either a united Ireland or negotiations:

> Troops out now but the Irish economy couldn't stand the strain of Northern Ireland, need international funding. Problem also of attitudes in Ireland about moral issues.

> Troops out - although politically complicated to bring united Ireland about.

> Unionist resistance has to be faced head on. Troops out would be first positive move, they add to the problem, a symbol of British oppression. A United Nations force is a good idea - then need policies, for example, recognising Sinn Fein as the legitimate mouthpiece of the Catholic community.

> Peace must be based on justice, injustice must be tackled before peace can come. For example, remove the veto and the army.

> United Ireland with guaranteed civil rights if that could happen.

> Unification is the only answer because the IRA won't give up and because of the economic situation in Northern Ireland.

The emphasis is on the eventual attainment of a united Ireland as the only realistic long-term solution. The removal of British troops is seen as a necessary first step towards the realisation of a united Ireland. Clearly credence is given both to the Republican rationale of events in the North and to the IRA's motivations in the struggle. As might be predicted, the teachers who selected an Irish identity as primary are significantly more likely to suggest a united Ireland or negotiations than are the teachers who did not select an Irish identity.

3. CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND NORTHERN IRELAND

The final questions in this section of the interview asked the teachers and pupils about the practices in Catholic schools concerning Northern Ireland. The intention here is to discover the extent of teaching on Northern Ireland in the schools. Also of interest is whether the schools constitute a framework in which teachers and pupils can express their concerns and views about Northern Ireland. The final three questions were:

25. Have you been taught anything about Northern Ireland at school?

26. Do you discuss Northern Ireland with friends at school?

27. Do you discuss Northern Ireland outside of school?

3.1 THE PUPILS

3.1.1 Question 25: Have you been taught anything about Northern Ireland at school

Almost three-quarters, 73% (48 out of 66), of the pupils reported that they had not been taught anything about Northern Ireland at school (see table 7). Although the proportion of pupils reporting this is higher in Liverpool, the difference compared with London is not statistically significant. Only 27% (18 out of 66) of the pupils reported any teaching on Ireland. Their descriptions of this teaching suggest that it is often schematic in form and content and frequently occurs because of the prompting of the pupils rather than at the instigation of the teacher. The absence of teaching about Northern Ireland and the context and content of that which does take place will be examined in the discussion section.

TABLE 7

PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF TEACHING ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
YES	27%(18)	38%(10)	20%(8)
NO	73%(48)	62%(16)	80%(32

3.1.2 Question 26: Do you discuss Northern Ireland with friends at school?

Over half of the pupils, 56% (37 out of 66), said that they did not discuss Northern Ireland with friends at school (see table 8a). However, there is a significant difference in the replies of the pupils in London compared with Liverpool. In London 31% (8 out of 26) of the pupils stated they did not discuss Northern Ireland at school, whereas in Liverpool 73% (29 out of 40) of the pupils gave the same response. This difference between the London and Liverpool samples is significant at the .01 level. Only 30% (20 out of 66) of the pupils said they discussed Northern Ireland at school with any frequency, 14% (9 out of 66) reporting that they did so occasionally. A sizeable proportion of these pupils are in London.

Although there are significantly fewer pupils in Liverpool reporting that they discuss events in the North at school, there is a marked variation in how these pupils are distributed. There is a significant variation in the responses of the boys and girls in Liverpool. While nearly half the boys, 47% (10 out of 21), said they did not discuss events in the North with friends at school, all 19 of the girls gave the same

response (see table 8b). This difference between the boys and girls in Liverpool is significant at the .001 level. This is the only section where gender differences occur in all comparisons made within and between areas.

TABLE 8a

PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSING NORTHERN IRELAND WITH FRIENDS

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
YES	30%(20)	43%(11)	23%(9)
OCCASIONALLY	14%(9)	27%(7)	5%(2)
NO	56%(37)	31%(8)	73%(29)

TABLE 8b

LIVERPOOL PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSING NORTHERN IRELAND WITH FRIENDS ACCORDING TO GENDER

Response	Gender	
	BOYS(21)	GIRLS(19)
YES	43%(9)	0%
OCCASIONALLY	10%(2)	0%
NO	47%(10)	100%(19)

3.1.3 Question 27: Do you discuss Northern Ireland outside school?

63% (41 out of 66) of the pupils said they discussed Northern Ireland at least occasionally outside school (see table 9a). This compares with 44% (29 out of 66) of the pupils reporting in the last question that they discussed Northern Ireland at school. There were no significant differences between the London and Liverpool samples about discussing the North outside school. These findings suggest that many of the pupils are disposed to discuss Northern Ireland and are more likely to do so outside school than in school.

TABLE 9a

PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSIONS ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND OUTSIDE SCHOOL

Response	Sample group		
	TOTAL SAMPLE(66)	LONDON(26)	LIVERPOOL(40)
YES	39%(25)	40%(10)	39%(15)
OCCASIONALLY	24%(16)	31%(8)	20%(8)
NO	35%(23)	27%(7)	40%(16)
D K	2%(1)	4%(1)	0%

There were no significant differences within the London sample on this question, but there is a significant variation in the responses of the Liverpool pupils when they are distributed according to gender. In contrast to the previous question, the girls in Liverpool discussed Northern Ireland more than the boys outside school. Only 21% (4 out of 19) of the girls in Liverpool said they did not discuss the events in the North outside school (see table 9b). This compares with 57% (12 out of 21) of the boys who gave the same response. The difference between the girls and boys in Liverpool about discussing Northern Ireland outside school is significant at the .05 level. This finding suggests that the girls in Liverpool are not necessarily any less predisposed to talk about the North, but they exercise stricter criteria about where such discussion should take place.

TABLE 9b

LIVERPOOL PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSIONS ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL ACCORDING TO GENDER

Response	Gender	
	BOYS(21)	GIRLS(19)
YES	29%(6)	53%(10)
OCCASIONALLY	14%(3)	26%(5)
NO	57%(12)	21%(4)
D K	0%	0%

3.1.4 Discussion

The first question in this section asked the pupils whether they had ever been taught anything about Northern Ireland. Even a passing reference to Northern Ireland in a lesson is coded positively. Despite this, the findings reveal 73% of the pupils had not been taught anything about events in the North. A number of the pupils' replies indicated that if they receive no teaching on the subject it leaves the media as their main external source of information about Northern Ireland:

No, only TV news.

No, just on the news about blowings up.

> No, only see it on TV.

It is possible that these circumstances, an absence of teaching about the North and the consequent reliance on the media for information, could explain the high proportion of 'don't knows' which were returned when the pupils were asked in the last two questions about the causes of events and possible ways forward in Northern Ireland. The Liverpool pupils are significantly more likely to respond 'don't know' or 'stalemate' to these previous questions about Northern Ireland. It is possible that the London pupils expressed less puzzlement about Northern Ireland because, besides the media, they have an alternative source of information in their homes. This will be explored in the replies to the last question in this section of the interview.

A close examination of the replies of the pupils who said they had received teaching on the North reveals two things. First, that any teaching which does take place often does so only at the instigation of the pupils:

> Comes up occasionally in discussions.

> Can boil over in lessons, for example when talking about last night's TV, seems to be in RE lessons most.

> Yes, we had a supply teacher in Spanish and we asked to discuss Northern Ireland. The teacher had been there and told us about it, very educational.

> Yes, in English we have discussions about it, not actually taught. Most wanted to give Northern Ireland to the Irish and be finished with the fighting.

> Had a free lesson discussion after Hyde Park bombings - everyone hated the Irish at that time.

Second, that if teaching about Northern Ireland is not prompted by pupil request, it is most likely to be initiated as the result of the particular interest or concern of an individual teacher. In the boys school in Liverpool none of the pupils reported being taught anything about Northern Ireland. The small number of girls in Liverpool who said that they had been taught about Northern Ireland were referring to one RE lesson in their second year. In the London boys school all the references to teaching about Northern Ireland were to history lessons. It will be remembered from chapter 10 that the head of history in that school had a policy of reviewing the content of the curriculum and included Ireland in that review. In the girls school the references to teaching about the North referred to certain English lessons where they had a set book about 'The Troubles'. In each case, in the London schools the teachers responsible for the teaching about Northern Ireland reported here are of Irish descent. They are both interviewed in this study and each selected an Irish identity as their primary identity.

Next the pupils were asked whether they discussed Northern Ireland with friends at school. This question produced some very interesting differences between the pupils in London and Liverpool, and within the Liverpool sample. Just over half the pupils said that they did not discuss events in the North with their friends at school. The pupils in Liverpool are significantly more likely to respond that they do not discuss Northern Ireland at school than are the London pupils. The responses of the Liverpool pupils are dominated by the fact that everyone of the girls said that they do not discuss Northern Ireland at school. These findings suggest that, although the London pupils are not being taught much about Northern Ireland, they are talking about events in the North with their friends at school. On the other hand, in Liverpool the pupils are far less likely to be talking about events in the North with their friends in school. Either this could be due to a lack of interest in Northern Ireland amongst the Liverpool pupils compared with the London pupils, or it could be the consequence of the pupils' greater sensitivity to the existence of a taboo against talking about Northern Ireland in the Liverpool schools. The following question may help elucidate which of these is the more likely

explanation of the fact that the Liverpool pupils are less likely to discuss Northern Ireland with friends at school.

The London pupils who said that they discussed Northern Ireland at school with their friends reported this in a matter-of-fact manner. They did not elaborate on the content of those discussions, except for one boy who said he 'had an argument with a German bloke who ran down IRA action'. In Liverpool the boys who indicated that they did discuss the North at school usually gave a commentary:

> Discussed it amongst friends, bit of a debate, everyone has different views, especially if of English background.
>
> Discuss it with me mates, all have different opinions.
>
> With friends, especially at time of Bobby Sands and the H-Block. Most thought the IRA were bad.
>
> Amongst friends a lot, all agree it's getting like Vietnam. Only one believes that the troops should come out and leave them to it. Rest think troops have to stay awhile.
>
> Yes with friends, have different views, some want to keep Ireland, while I would give the Catholics what they want and also Protestants stay with Britain.

These replies of boys in Liverpool seem to indicate that, when they and their friends are in agreement, it is when all of them support the dominant consensus on Northern Ireland described earlier in this chapter. If the boys report dissension it is because of one or more pupils' taking a view at variance with this dominant consensus about the IRA or the 'bad' things happening in Northern Ireland.

In the final question in this section of the interview the pupils were asked whether they discussed Northern Ireland outside school. Just under two-thirds said they did discuss events in the North out of school. The most striking aspect of these replies is that they reveal no significant differences between the London and Liverpool pupils. The Liverpool pupils are as likely as the London pupils to discuss Northern Ireland outside of school. Interestingly, the girls in Liverpool, none of whom discussed events in the North at school, were significantly more likely than the boys in Liverpool to discuss Northern Ireland with friends or family outside school. These findings seem to suggest that a lack of interest in Northern Ireland does not necessarily account for the responses of the Liverpool pupils to the last question. Their relative lack of discussion of Northern Ireland with friends at school compared with the London pupils is more likely to reflect that they exercise stricter criteria about where such discussion takes place. This is particularly the case with the Liverpool girls.

In general there was more elaboration by the pupils on the discussions about Northern Ireland which take place outside school than there had been on those taking place in school. One of the most common themes of these commentaries is of the conflict and tensions which Northern Ireland and discussion about it can engender:

> After Mountbatten was blown up we were coming over on the ferry and you could feel something, an edgy time. My dad has seven brothers there in the North and they don't tell you where they're going early in the morning, shotguns in the house and everything. Awful definite views on my dad's side and you hear about all the things that never get coverage over here of what the English do. My mum thinks no one should get killed. It's a bit like Lebanon really. When I got back from Cavan I didn't fit in really. Can't talk to my mum because she had a breakdown after living six to seven months in Cavan. Achill is a terrible place for a family, dead, everyone's a

relation. But I do prefer there to here, no chance of being mugged there. My mum doesn't go out much here, nor my sister neither, she's there in the convent - this is what they call freedom.

Talk about it now and then but usually ends in arguments.

Between me and my brother, not my mum and sister. I've thought about it a bit, that's why I think as I do. We have our country why can't they have theirs - IRA are like we were in the Second World War.

When on the news - my mother thinks it would be ludicrous to bring the troops out, but my brothers think it would be better.

It is in the house - my mum thinks like me but me dad doesn't really understand them, as his family is Liverpool as far back as they go. We live in a pub and they come in and sing Catholic songs and it causes trouble because up where we are there's a lot of the Lodge. That's why me dad doesn't like the Irish.

This theme of conflicts and tensions was implied and sometimes referred to in the responses of the pupils who said they did not discuss Northern Ireland outside school. Many just replied 'never' but a few elaborated:

Mum and dad don't want to talk about it really.

Never, my views come from the news and seeing what's happening.

> It's not discussed in our house when my bother-in-law, who is Irish, or my sister, who works at an army hospital in Woolwich and has seen the results of the bombings and is very against them, are there.

The conflicts and tensions referred or alluded to are not just between the Irish and the English. They are between different groups of Irish people or between people of Irish descent who have formed different views about Northern Ireland. The differences are all the more painful and difficult because of this.

However, many of the pupils described discussion about Northern Ireland taking place at home and often they gained an alternative view of events from that which is otherwise available:

> A lot, all my dad ever goes on about. He only listens to RTE, thinks the troops should come out.
>
> Yes, parents think along the same lines as me.
>
> Dad talks about it, he believes the soldiers shouldn't be there.
>
> Yes, dad tells me a lot, agrees with me on Northern Ireland.
>
> When in Ireland talked a lot with my uncle who told me all about 1916. I learnt a lot from him.
>
> Sometimes when watching telly we talk about IRA, bombs, poor people suffering with the army bursting into their homes.
>
> Yes, when on telly, get my views from TV and listening to dad.

Only with me dad, he explains situations to me
but I don't really understand.

A noticeable feature of these replies is that it is particularly the pupil's father who figures as the likely source of discussion and information about Northern Ireland. In contrast to the responses quoted above, these replies do not radiate the same expectation of conflict and tension on the issue of Northern Ireland. The implication is that in the home background of these pupils an alternative view prevails to that of the dominant consensus on Northern Ireland.

3.2 THE TEACHERS

In this section two of the questions to the teachers were differently worded from those asked of the pupils. The aim was to discover current practice in the schools about Northern Ireland; therefore the teachers were asked whether they taught about Northern Ireland, rather than had they been taught about it when at school themselves. Secondly they were asked whether events in the North are discussed in the staffroom. Finally the teachers were asked, as were the pupils, whether they discussed Northern Ireland outside school.

The final three questions the teachers were asked were:

25. Have you ever taught anything about Northern Ireland at school?

26. Do you discuss Northern Ireland in the staffroom?

27. Do you discuss Northern Ireland outside of school?

3.2.1 Question 25: Have you ever taught about Northern Ireland?

The responses of the teachers who said they had taught about Northern Ireland are divided into two categories according to the context in which they taught the subject. Those teachers who themselves introduced Northern Ireland as part of the curriculum are coded as 'yes/formally'; while the teachers who included reference to Northern Ireland in response to pupils' questions are grouped under 'yes/informally'.

72% of the teachers reported they had taught about Northern Ireland either formally as part of the curriculum or informally in discussions with pupils (see table 10). This is in striking contrast to 73% of the pupils reporting that they had not been taught about Northern Ireland. Possible explanations for this contrast will be examined in the discussion section. There were no significant differences between the teachers on this question.

TABLE 10

TEACHERS. INCIDENCE OF TEACHING ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
YES/FORMALLY	41% (16)	54% (7)	30% (3)	38% (6)
YES/INFORMALLY	31% (12)	23% (3)	50% (5)	25% (4)
NO	28% (11)	23% (3)	20% (2)	38% (6)

3.2.2 Question 26: Do you discuss Northern Ireland in the staffroom?

The teachers are split on this question (see table 11). 51% (20 out of 39) said that they did talk about Northern Ireland at least occasionally in the staffroom, while 49% (19 out of 39) said that they did not discuss events in the North with other members of staff. A significant difference exists in the replies of the teachers according to their selected identity. Only 35% (8 out of 23) of the teachers who selected an Irish identity reported that they did not discuss Northern Ireland in the staffroom. However, 69% (11 out of 16) of the teachers who did not select an Irish identity said that they did not discuss events in the North in the staffroom. This difference between the teachers who selected an Irish identity and those who did not is significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 11

TEACHERS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSING NORTHERN IRELAND IN STAFFROOM

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY(13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY(10)	IRISH/ ABSENT(16)
YES	23%(9)	31%(4)	30%(3)	12%(2)
OCCASIONALLY	28%(11)	23%(3)	50%(5)	19%(3)
NO	49%(19)	46%(6)	20%(2)	69%(11)

3.2.3 Question 27. Do you discuss Northern Ireland outside of school?

A large majority of the staff, 90% (35 out of 39), said they discussed Northern Ireland at least occasionally outside of school (see table 12). Only 10% (4 out of 39) of the staff reported that they never discussed events in the North outside school. 62% (24 out of 39) of the teachers reported that they discussed Northern Ireland regularly and often described whether this was with their families or more predominantly with friends. These aspects will be explored in the discussion section below.

TABLE 12

TEACHERS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSING NORTHERN IRELAND OUTSIDE SCHOOL

Response	Identity			
	TOTAL SAMPLE (39)	IRISH/ PRIMARY (13)	IRISH/ SECONDARY (10)	IRISH/ ABSENT (16)
YES	62% (24)	62% (8)	60% (6)	63% (10)
OCCASIONALLY	28% (11)	23% (3)	40% (4)	25% (4)
NO	10% (4)	15% (2)	0%	13% (2)

3.2.4 Discussion

Only 28% of the teachers said they had never taught about Northern Ireland. This contrasts sharply with the pupils' responses when asked whether they had been taught about Northern Ireland. 73% of the pupils reported that they had not been taught anything about events in the North.

Examining the teachers' replies reveals two aspects which help explain this apparent discrepancy. First, only 36% of the teachers said that Northern Ireland formed part of the formal curriculum content of their courses:

> Use certain books, for example, 'Under Goliath', it can't be understood unless you fill in the background. But not at the 'what happened last night' level.
>
> Quite a lot in fourth and fifth year history, it's actually part of the syllabus - London: British Social and Economic History - I go up to 1916. I tag on extra up to 1922.
>
> Use 'Across the Barricades' - kids don't seem to know much about Northern Ireland, because of reluctance of parents to talk about Ireland.
>
> Taught lessons on it in humanities, also usually comes up as the result of some violence, it produces revulsion to Ireland and doesn't get sympathy it should.
>
> A lot of Irish novelists, for example, 'Across the Barricades', go into 'The Troubles' as I see it. Kids often choose 'Morality of the IRA' as a CSE option, comes up after bombings.

These comments reinforce the impression that if there is any teaching about Northern Ireland it is most likely to be due to the initiative of an individual teacher. These teachers exercise the option of choosing books on Northern Ireland in English lessons or they extend the parameters of a history syllabus.

Second, many of the teachers revealed that they considered Northern Ireland as a suitable topic for sixth formers rather than younger pupils.

There is no suggestion of any systematic teaching on Northern Ireland in this small survey. It is, therefore, not surprising that almost three-quarters of the pupils, all of whom are in their fourth year, reported that they had not been taught about Northern Ireland.

36% of the teachers said they had taught about Northern Ireland in an informal manner. This meant that they had responded when pupils had brought up the subject of Northern Ireland, either by allowing discussion of it or by supplying some unplanned teaching about events in the North. In their descriptions of how the pupils might raise the subject there is a different tenor to the comments of those teaching in London compared with the teachers in schools in Liverpool. The following responses are typical of the teachers in London:

> Kids like to talk to me about Ireland because I'm nearly new over here. Sometimes get the question 'do you support the IRA', just to shock. Most don't know about it.
>
> Informally with older pupils if they've wanted to.
>
> Comes up - I'm latched on to because I'm Irish, they go on about the British presence in Northern Ireland. I try to let them realise there's two sides, it's quite frightening what some parents say.
>
> Not introduced it but comes up in discussion, after a particular incident. Some CSE girls choose it as a project. Discussing the latest incident often leads to other things.
>
> Only when a child mentions 'IRA' is written on a desk. A lot are pro-IRA, show it in their essays, but it's hardly mentioned.

The impression is of pupils in London seeking appropriate teachers to whom,

or spaces in the curriculum in which, they can express both their interest in and their views about Northern Ireland. These strategies are necessary because the pupils' views appear to be predominantly opposed to the dominant consensus on Northern Ireland. These and other teachers in the London schools acknowledge that there is this interest. A few of the teachers anticipate it and teach formally about Northern Ireland. Others respond by allowing some discussion or by sanctioning events in the North as a subject for projects. The teachers' observations suggest that in the London schools the authorities understand that Northern Ireland is an important issue for many of the pupils and their families. However, there is no general acknowledgement of this and it is left to individual teachers to deal with the issue as it arises. The pupils seem to acquiesce with this arrangement and, therefore, only raise the topic with certain teachers or in certain contexts.

In Liverpool the teachers' remarks about how Northern Ireland comes up as an issue appear to be qualitatively different:

> Last year in the sixth form PE group it came up in lessons on peace and civil rights. Was a varied response, some were surprised if I gave a different account from the media.
>
> With sixth formers, they like to give their views on the press and whether English lads should be involved and whether it's our business anyway.
>
> Has come up with sixth form, certainly wouldn't dodge it.
>
> With the sixth form discussed Northern Ireland in language and literature course, it comes up in topics like 'Violence in the Modern World'.
>
> With the sixth form might talk about nationalism,

> it might come into the discussion at very different levels.
>
> A couple of weeks ago we had a debate with the sixth form. The motion was 'The Six Counties of Northern Ireland should remain with Great Britain', it was carried narrowly.

Everyone of these teachers refers to Northern Ireland being brought up as a topic by sixth formers. This suggests two things: that the pupils are interested in discussing Northern Ireland; and that the topic is a sensitive one. The findings from the interviews with the Liverpool pupils have already revealed that they are significantly less likely to talk about Northern Ireland with their friends at school than the London pupils. But they are just as likely to discuss the subject outside of school. That there are many pupils interested in events in the North in Liverpool seems beyond question. What the above comments suggest, and the earlier comments of the Liverpool pupils would seem to corroborate, is that only in the sixth form in the Liverpool schools is Northern Ireland a 'safe' topic.

Northern Ireland is, therefore, a sensitive subject in both the London and Liverpool schools, but for different reasons. In Liverpool it is not sensitive because the predominant views of the pupils are opposed to the dominant consensus about Northern Ireland, as appears to be the case in London. It seems reasonable to suggest that Northern Ireland is a sensitive topic in Liverpool because there are real divisions about the subject. These divisions are reflected amongst the pupils in a city which has a high proportion of people of Irish descent and a history in which Irish politics have had a major role. The schools manage this situation by restricting widespread discussion of the North to the discussion lessons found typically in the sixth form curriculum.

In the next question the teachers were asked if they talked about Northern Ireland in the staffroom. The teachers who had selected Irish as their primary or secondary identity were more likely to discuss Northern

Ireland at school than those who did not select an Irish identity. Some of the teachers who do talk about events in the North describe contraints·

> I discuss it in the staffroom with other staff of similar views.
>
> In the staffroom it's a bit wary, only talk about it to people who you know or are interested in current affairs, still a sensitive area.
>
> I talk to other staff of Irish origin. English teachers are not willing to take part, is still intolerance towards the Irish, an inferior group.

Some of the teachers who selected an Irish identity and say they do not discuss Northern Ireland in the staffroom describe similar constraints:

> Very little with the staff, same as Dublin though even more condescending there.
>
> Would avoid it because it's too difficult.
>
> Irish people on the staff don't want to talk about it. With English people it's difficult, the sources of reference which they trust are the textbooks and the media, so they reject your individual view. For example, they see Bloody Sunday as a gun battle.
>
> More in the pub with friends on staff than in staffroom because of hierarchical presence.
>
> Not in the staffroom here, adults more shy to talk about it, though more did in my last school where they did not have such direct links.

> No, people very wary of it, staff very quiet about it.

Whether they do discuss it with certain people or whether they do not attempt to discuss Northern Ireland at all these teachers are very aware that Northern Ireland is a 'difficult' and 'sensitive' subject in the staffroom. All the teachers quoted above selected an Irish identity. The teachers who did not select an Irish identity are less likely to discuss Northern Ireland in the staffroom and tend not to elaborate on why this might be the case. Northern Ireland is, therefore, not widely discussed in the staffrooms. The teachers who selected an Irish identity said the absence of discussion was because of the potential misunderstandings and tensions generated by such a sensitive subject. It is possible that these statements reflect the greater importance of the issue of the North for these teachers, and their greater willingness to comment directly on the constraints that exist on discussing Northern Ireland in the staffroom of a Catholic school, compared with the teachers who did not select an Irish identity.

In contrast, there is a greater incidence of discussion about Northern Ireland by the teachers away from school. In the final question the teachers were asked if they discussed Northern Ireland outside of school and all but four of the teachers said they did. These discussions are predominantly restricted to friends or family:

> A lot with my wife and her mother, we watch everything about Ireland. All very interested, typical Irish family discussing late at night.

> Yes, quite a lot, but a different way amongst Irish people. For example, we'd be very critical of the IRA, whereas with non-Irish people we'd be very defensive about the IRA.

> With friends and family - we're thinking of writing to Cardinal Hume to see if he could do

> anything as it's not mentioned by the Church, 'tread lightly' on it seems to be the message.
>
> Of late a lot with friends. At home, father talked about it only once, is pro-Republican but it's hard to get it out of him. A lot of Irish people are in a state of limbo about the North. I've made up my mind in the last two years and discuss it more now.
>
> Talked with relatives in Northern Ireland. They think there will be no solution until the border is taken away.
>
> Not with friends but yes with family. All share my views except my father, he'd like to see Britain get out of Ireland.
>
> Discuss it more out of school, especially with friends who are non-Catholics or are not Irish. Politically discuss it in the Labour Party and the Labour Committee on Ireland, both of which I'm a member. Quite heated, gets people divided like Israel and Lebanon, never resolve anything.

A theme still present in these comments is of the potential difficulties involved whenever Northern Ireland is discussed. It is an issue which raises particular problems for the Irish in Britain, because of the reactions of English people, or because the Catholic Church does not adequately address the issue, or because of divided views amongst family members. Far more teachers discuss Northern Ireland outside of school because teachers are able to choose more easily with whom to discuss the subject.

The teachers who said they do not discuss the North outside school, and a number of the teachers who said they discuss it only occasionally, placed a greater emphasis on the difficulties:

> Sometimes with English friends who want to go to Ireland but fear it, but generally it's better to avoid it.
>
> Careful who I talk to about it because practically everyone has some connection. Some families are very split, that is, men are for the soldiers, women for the families.
>
> Sometimes at home, usually a row. My father is very Republican, supports the IRA.
>
> Not all that much, if I did I'd quickly go on to another subject. I hold to that politics and religion shouldn't be discussed seriously, but I pray for Northern Ireland, for peace.
>
> Not anymore, if you're interested you're an extremist.
>
> No, not anymore, used to lead to such awful rows.

Overall, therefore, the teachers do discuss Northern Ireland more outside of school than in the staffroom. This demonstrates the interest of this sample of teachers in events in the North. However, this interest is accompanied by a considerable caution in any discussion.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The responses of both the teachers and pupils indicate that the media coverage of Northern Ireland is a prime source of the constant regeneration of the stereotype of the Irish as violent. The images are either of the Irish as inherently violent or as prone to use violence for political ends. The pupils' replies about the causes and possible solutions to the crisis in Northern Ireland reveal that in London the pupils are very likely to

hold views at variance to the dominant consensus. The London pupils in general are likely to think the cause lies in the relations between Britain and Ireland. Those who selected an Irish identity are significantly more likely to opt for 'united Ireland' or 'negotiations', both solutions which give credence to the Republican position. In Liverpool there is some evidence that, although the dominant consensus carries more sway than in London, alternative explanations are also in circulation. However, in Liverpool puzzlement, and assessments of the situation as a stalemate, seem to be more likely.

Amongst the teachers, those from a working-class background and who selected Irish as their primary identity are most likely to diverge from the dominant consensus when considering the causes of the situation in Northern Ireland. Further, the Irishness primary identity group are most likely to opt for a united Ireland or negotiations as possible solutions to the crisis. Teachers who did not select an Irish identity and are from a middle-class background are more likely to hold views about Northern Ireland in accord with the dominant consensus . Many of the teachers could not suggest any solution for Northern Ireland, viewing the situation as intractable.

Within the schools it appears that teaching about Northern Ireland is not widespread, especially below sixth form level, unless an individual teacher introduces the subject or the pupils press for information. The sense that Northern Ireland is a taboo subject in Catholic schools is further reinforced by the relatively low incidence of discussing Northern Ireland amongst friends or in the staffroom. Those who do discuss the subject usually do so only with those whose views they know in advance. The greater degree of discussion outside school, somewhat spectacularly in the case of the girls in Liverpool, confirms the interest in Northern Ireland but also indicates the extent to which Northern Ireland is a sensitive subject, fraught with possible conflicts which can often divide Irish people amongst themselves as well as from British society.

CONCLUSION

1. INTRODUCTION

The core of the thesis concerns the incorporative aim of Catholic education and the consequences for Irish identity in Britain. It is argued that Catholic elementary education, developed in response to 19th-century Irish migration, aimed to strengthen the Catholic identity of the Irish while weakening their national identity. This incorporation process has had repercussions for Irish identity in the present period. The research is presented in two parts: first, the historical origins of the education of the Irish; second, an empirical investigation of the views of pupils and teachers in selected Catholic schools. This two-part structure was adopted in order to capture aspects of both the 19th- and 20th-century experience of Irish migrants and to show the interlocking nature of that experience. The aim of the conclusion, therefore, is to draw together the major elements of the two parts of the study. The evidence presented in part one of the thesis about the segregation, differentiation and incorporation of the Irish in the 19th century will be reviewed with reference to appropriate sections of the empirical study in order to illuminate the conclusions drawn. To follow, the evidence presented in part two about Irish identity will be reviewed where appropriate in the context of the historical investigation. Finally, future directions for research are considered.

2. SEGREGATION AND DIFFERENTIATION

In chapter one it was argued that anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish racism have been integral to the formation of British national identity. In the 19th century both anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish hostility were significant in unifying different social classes and in this way helped in the stabilising of capitalist social relations. Anti-Catholicism and anti-Irish racism projected the Irish as the antithesis of what was considered

British. The Irish were Catholics, thus potentially traitorous, and depicted as possessing national characteristics which made them prone to violence and uncivilised behaviour. These perceptions of the Irish existed long before the increase in Irish migration in the 19th century. The specific fear engendered in the 19th century by the settlement of large numbers of Irish in the new urban areas was contamination. Repeatedly, as detailed in chapter three, the attitude expressed by public officials was that, unless measures were taken to prevent it, the Irish would bring the indigenous working class down to their level.

An important theme of part one of the thesis, therefore, was to trace the processes of segregation and differentiation of the Irish Catholic working class which were a consequence of anti-Catholicism and anti-Irishness expressed as contamination. Reference was made to the work of John Foster (1974) who cited the existence of ghettoised Irish communities and anti-Irish hostility as significant in the assertion of political and industrial authority over the indigenous working class in mid-century. This thesis has extended Foster's analysis by demonstrating that the segregation and differentiation of the Irish Catholic working class was more widespread and systematic than even Foster's analysis suggests. Further, the intention here is to place in context histories of the Irish in Britain which primarily attribute the formation of segregated Irish communities to the actions of the Irish migrants themselves or the Catholic Church. In this study the emphasis has been to understand the economic and political context existing in 19th-century Britain which shaped, on the one hand, the experience of the Irish, and on the other hand, the policies of the Catholic Church towards its Irish congregation.

An important argument advanced in chapter three was that the moves to segregate and differentiate the Irish were implemented by municipal government. The operation of the Poor Law and the development of policing practices were two examples given as evidence. This argument was developed further in chapter five. The impetus to contain and segregate the Irish was manifested in the educational debates prompted by the Corporation Schools Experiment in Liverpool in the 1830s. Essentially the debate about the education of the working class was waged between those favouring

interdenominational education and those who could only countenance denominational schooling. It was the latter group who won the argument in Liverpool.

The denominationalists, who comprised much of the Tory party and much of the Church of England, were opposed to interdenominational schools because they saw the dilution of denominationalism as representing a direct threat to the relationship between the Established Church and the State. They mobilised their opposition to the Corporation schools in Liverpool and other proposals for interdenominational schools by arguing that such schools would involve the return of popery and bring the threat of contamination of other working-class children by Irish Catholics. Many of the denominationalists were against any public funding for Roman Catholic schools. However, under the pressure of the large numbers of Irish Catholics in Liverpool they were prepared to accept the compromise of separate funding for Catholic children. The impact of anti-Catholicism was not limited to the defeat of the Corporation Schools Experiment in Liverpool. In both 1839 and 1843 anti-Catholicism was utilised, first by Anglicans and then by Dissenters, to prevent the implementation of educational reforms which threatened their interests.

The conclusion drawn here is that anti-Catholic and anti-Irish hostility were influential in determining the limits of government action on education in the 1830s and 1840s. The creation of a separate Catholic school system was in part the consequence of active pressures to segregate the Irish from the rest of the working-class population. The Catholic schools as an institution became the means of containing Irish children and became the symbol of their differentiation from the indigenous working class, all of whom, whatever their other differences, shared Protestantism and British national identity. As pointed out in the introduction and chapter one, the working class were not solely determined by their class experience. Religion and national identity were also important. The Catholic church and Catholic school were local symbols of an 'enemy within' and were frequently attacked.

In the 1870s, faced with continuing proselytisation and the nature of the 1870 education settlement, Catholic authorities renewed their advocacy of a separate Catholic school system, although it was to be at vast cost. The segregation and differentiation of the Irish Catholic working class from the rest of the working class was now institutionalised. The conclusion here is that, given the centrality of education in all debates about the working class in the 19th century, and given the politicised nature of religious identities, the development of arrangements for the elementary education of the Irish Catholic working class have been surprisingly neglected in accounts of class formation in the 19th century. The development of Catholic schooling had significant implications for the relationship between the English Catholic Church and Irish communities and for the identity of the Irish in Britain.

3. INCOPORATION AND CATHOLIC IDENTITY

The argument that incoporation[1] is a more valid conceptualisation of the Irish experience in Britain than assimilation must demonstrate that there was active state intervention to structure the lives of the Irish in Britain. The argument must further demonstrate that the aim of state intervention was the incorporation of the Irish. As outlined in the introduction, the concept of incorporation is used to refer to the processes by which the State actively attempts to regulate the expression and development of the separate and distinctive identities of potentially oppositional groups, in order to create a single nation-state. The crucial feature of incorporation explored in this thesis is the strategies used by the State to achieve incorporation to a centralised national identity: Britishness. The strategies of incorporating the Irish in Britain involved denationalisation.

State intervention to structure the lives of the Irish in Britain operated at two levels, with different strategies. At municipal level state intervention resulted in the segregation and differentiation of the Irish. In contrast, the objectives of central government in the 1830s and 1840s towards the Irish population were incorporatist. Irish communities

in Britain were perceived as a social problem and a potential, sometimes actual, political threat. The fear they engendered was of unrest and possible revolution. Education was central government's response to a population who presented these threats but who were recognised as essential labour migrants. As the evidence recorded in the 1836 Inquiry demonstrates, education was seen as a means of improving the habits and loyalty of the Irish population. The specific problem of the education of Irish Roman Catholics was considered in the context of plans to develop a national education system for the working class as a whole.

All proposals for a system of national education in the 1830s involved some form of interdenominational schooling. The interdenominationalists supported a national education system in which denominational teaching was separated from secular instruction. All children would go to the same school but at specific junctures would have access to their own denominational instruction. This was incorporatist because it was a plan to bring all children together into national schools. This approach to the education of the working class was that of the Whig/Peelite political ascendency and of many social reformers. The plans of the interdenominationalists for a national system of education were thwarted, as already noted. However, the compromise achieved in the 1840s of funding for separate denominational schools served the incorporatist aims of central government. Denominational schools received funding in return for submitting the secular curriculum to inspection and regulation by the Committee of Council for Education. A common curriculum was, therefore, established a quarter of a century prior to the ostensible creation of a national system in 1870.

Interdenominational plans were given support by the Catholic Church because of their fears of proselytising schools and the massive organisational and financial task if they were to provide for the rapidly increasing numbers of Irish migrants. The model for the interdenominational proposals was that of the Irish National Education System, which was as Protestant a system as possible under the umbrella of interdenominationalism. It is clear that the Catholic Church was prepared to go a long way to ensure systematic access to the Irish working class.

In 1847 the Whig administration of the day, supported by Peel, won Parliamentary approval for the public funding of Catholic schools. By the late 1840s this remained the only way of achieving the government's intention of incorporating Irish Roman Catholic children into education, as the alternatives of possible proselytisation or interdenominational schools were ruled out.

Thus it was left to the Catholic Church to be responsible for the incorporation of the Irish population. In chapter three it was argued that the Catholic Church, in the decades after catholic emancipation, had as its central objectives the prevention of leakage of Irish migrants and the enhancement of the respectability and legitimacy of the Church. The Irish in Britain threatened the desired respectability and as a result the Catholic Church constructed its mission to the Irish as a mission of retention and incorporation. The central aim of the English Catholic Church involved the denationalising of the Irish and this aim was essentially implemented by Catholic education and the importance of Catholic education for the Irish community.

The long-term aim of the Catholic Church was to strengthen the Catholic identity of Irish migrants at the expense of weakening their national identity. Education became a central element of the strategy of the church. In chapter six this hypothesis was examined in detail through a study of the aims, organisation and practices of Catholic elementary education. The evidence presented revealed that the aims of Catholic schools, as articulated by the Catholic Poor School Committee, were to transform the Irish into useful citizens, loyal subjects, respectable members of the working class and good Catholics. The interests of the government and the Church were consistently presented as mutually reinforcing. The expansion of Catholic education was carried out in a manner which ensured the control of the clergy over the schools. Catholic schooling was increasingly subject to central direction of the Catholic Poor School Committee and, therefore, some uniformity in the experience of Catholic education could be assumed, as has been shown in chapter six.

The denationalising aim of Catholic education was implemented by two interrelated strategies. The first denationalising strategy was that the school involved the local Irish community, practising and non-practising alike, in raising funds for and building the schools and in sending their children to the schools. This involvement of Irish communities in constructing and supporting Catholic education became the very means of incorporating the Irish working class. The involvement of the Irish community in creating the Catholic education system became a crucial means of strengthening their Catholic identity. This seems borne out over one hundred years later in the interviews with pupils in both London and Liverpool carried out for this research. Almost two-thirds of the pupils were convinced that there is nothing distinctive about Catholic schools except for religion. Schools are seen as Catholic, not as institutions specialising in the education of the Irish or those of Irish descent. For example, when asked about the distinctiveness of Catholic schools, the pupils overwhelmingly referred to religion not to the ethnic composition of the school, even when the pupils are second-generation Irish, as in the case of the London sample.

The second denationalising strategy of Catholic education identified in part one of the thesis is the absence of teaching about Ireland from the curriculum. The evidence in the interviews confirms that the Catholic schools, by removing the Irish from history, continue to render both the Irish and Ireland invisible. The very similar responses of the pupils in London and Liverpool indicate the uniformity of these practices in Catholic secondary schools. Whilst two-thirds of the pupils reported being taught something about Ireland, their descriptions reveal that the content about Ireland is cursory and highly selective. Two-thirds of the teachers, however, said that they were taught nothing about Ireland and their comments also suggest strong editing and bias in the transmission of knowledge about Ireland. It remains a reasonable assumption that the marginalisation of Ireland in the curriculum of Catholic schools continues to mirror the practices of other schools in the state education system.

It seems reasonable to infer that a curriculum content about Ireland would have undermined the incoporatist strategy of Catholic education.

Catholic education must have religion as its sole publicly recognised distinguishing mark. In reality Catholic schools are distinguished as the part of the state education system reserved for migrants. The success of incorporation in strengthening the Catholic identity of the Irish is exemplified in the pupils' response when questioned about the responsibility of Catholic schools to teach about Ireland. Despite the fact that an overwhelming proportion of the pupils (91 per cent) wanted more teaching about Ireland, they were split about whether this entailed any special responsibility for Catholic schools. Although some pupils thought Catholic schools did not have a special responsibility because all schools should teach about Ireland, the replies in London were more wary than might have been expected. The wary London pupils described the problems of introducing teaching about Ireland in a context where multi-cultural or anti-racist teaching did not include recognition of Irish demands. They did not want to aggravate problems for the school but were also resentful about this. The identification of many of the pupils in London and Liverpool with Catholicism is clearly demonstrated in the responses about Catholic responsibility and by the pupils' willingness to abide by the conditions of Catholic education.

This willingness to accept the terms of the school is also demonstrated in the account the pupils gave about Northern Ireland. The pupils clearly describe the degree to which Northern Ireland is a taboo topic in Catholic schools. Most had never been taught about Northern Ireland and they are careful to only talk about Northern Ireland to friends whose views they already know. In the case of the girls school in Liverpool not one of the girls ever discussed Northern Ireland at school, even though most of them did discuss it outside school. These constraints were echoed by the teachers. It could be cautiously argued that the contemporary reluctance to discuss and teach about Irish matters in Catholic schools echoes 19th-century dilemmas.

The conclusion drawn from both the historical research and the empirical study is that the Catholic Church successfully incorporated the Irish working class by strengthening their identity as Catholics. However, it remains to discover the extent to which the migrants' identity as Irish

was simultaneously weakened. The contention here is that the weakening of Irish identity is not an automatic process despite the incorporatist policies of the English Catholic Church.

4. INCORPORATION AND IRISH IDENTITY

The general assumption in the literature is that the Irish have been assimilated in the 20th century. From the approach adopted here, assimilation theories offer an inadequate explanation of the experience of the Irish in Britain. Assimilation theories fail to explain the transformation of the Irish from a high-visibility group in the 19th century to a relatively invisible group in the second half of the 20th century. The view of the thesis is that the Irish are a national minority group who have a separate culture and traditions and are subject to racist practices. The current invisibility of the Irish as a group in this sense is the consequence of social processes initiated in the 19th century in response to Irish migration. The consequences for Irish identity of strategies of incorporation have been central to the transformation of the Irish in Britain from visibility to invisibility.

In the 19th century religious affiliations and national allegiances were essential constituents of identity. In the case of Irish migrants in Britain the argument was made that the formation of their identity was inextricably bound to their forced migration from Ireland and their class position in British society. This thesis has primarily focused on the identity of the Irish population in Britain as migrants. The experience of Irish migrants in Britain contrasts with that of their relatives who migrated to the United States of America, because they came to live and work in the country which had ruled Ireland for four centuries.

In the absence of oral historical evidence it is necessary to give an account of Irish identity in the 19th century from evidence often compiled by those who disapproved of Irish political activities. As outlined in chapters three and four, the primacy of Irish national politics for Irish communities throughout the century is indisputable. No claim is made that

this involved every Irish migrant in Britain, but widespread support is evident and the dilemmas caused by the rival claims of support for Catholic education or the labour movement serve to illustrate the importance given to struggles in Ireland. In addition, for most of the 19th century political activity aimed at ending the union between Ireland and Britain was viewed as traitorous. Although the full extent of support for these politics may never be known because they were necessarily covert and have not been recorded, there is adequate evidence of a strong Irish political identity in the 19th century.

In this section of the conclusion the intention is to review the evidence of the empirical study about the identity of the sample. First, the characteristics of each sub-sample will be given. Second, the findings from various parts of the questionaire will be reviewed, in order to discover if strategies of incorporation continue and the responses of people of Irish descent.

4.1 THE THREE SUB-SAMPLES

The empirical study is based on interviews with three sub-samples, pupils in London, pupils in Liverpool and teachers. The response of the pupils in both London and Liverpool, when asked which identity they would select to describe themselves, is an important finding. A majority in each city did not select the nationality of the country they were born in as their primary identity. In London the vast majority of the pupils chose either Irish or of Irish descent to describe themselves. In Liverpool two-thirds of the pupils selected Liverpudlian as their primary identity. Only 18 per cent of the pupils interviewed selected British or English as their primary identity. This finding is important because it suggests that incorporatist strategies are not as effective in denationalising the Irish as in strengthening the Catholic identity of the Irish in Brtain.

It could be argued that the selection of the areas for research and of the pupils' sample increased the likelihood of producing this finding. This is true but does not undermine the importance of the finding, for two

reasons. First, the widespread acceptance of the assimilation thesis about the Irish in Britain made it imperative for this investigation to establish that alternative identities are held by people of Irish descent. It is valid, in the circumstances, to commence research in areas where the hypotheses of incorporation and denationalisation might most clearly be examined. Later, larger studies can explore the complexities of Irish identity in a wider range of locations. Second, the samples of pupils are small and selected in circumstances which may have produced different but homogenous samples in each city. However, expected similarities did emerge between the London and Liverpool pupils about Catholicism and about the curriculum. Further, sufficient differences are produced within each sample to suggest the role of social class, region and generation in Irish identity.

The group of teachers interviewed were small in number and were volunteers, all interested in the research. It was argued in chapter seven that this would not necessarily produce a homogenous group. A third of the teachers (33 per cent) selected an Irish identity as their primary identity, a quarter of the teachers (26 per cent) selected Irishness as their secondary identity, and two-fifths of the teachers (41 per cent) did not select Irishness as part of their identity. The findings demonstrate that the teachers are not a homogenous group and, in fact, proved to be a sample which produced consistent differences between the Irishness primary group and the Irishness absent group. The differences discovered between the teachers are useful for exploring the differential effect of attempts to incorporate the Irish.

It appears, therefore, from the responses of the pupils and teachers that the samples, despite being small, do reveal the differential response to incorporation amongst the Irish in Britain. The London pupils are incorporated to the extent of strengthening their Catholic identity, but not to the extent of weakening their Irish identity. The Catholic identity of the Liverpool pupils has been maintained but their Irish identity was weakened by the development of a strong regional identity. Amongst the teachers distinct groupings exist, an Irishness primary group, an Irishness secondary group, and an Irishness absent group. These identity groupings

within the sample of teachers encompass the full range of predicted responses about Irish identity. The two sub-samples whose Irish identity is strongest are the London pupils and the Irishness primary group of teachers. The two groups whose Irish identity has been weakened to the extent that they do not select Irish as any part of their identity are the Liverpool pupils and the Irishness absent group of teachers.

The evidence provided by the London pupils shows that they live in a strong self-expressive Irish community, with their own sense of identity tied closely to the importance of the family in their lives. The large majority of the pupils and their families visit Ireland regularly and participate in Irish social and cultural activities. All the London pupils are second generation with both their parents born in Ireland. Social-class background has no impact on ties of allegiance to Irishness of the London sub-sample. The London pupils represent the raw material which for several generations Catholic schools have received and which have been subject to strategies of incorporation.

In contrast, the Liverpool sample includes pupils whose parents, grandparents or even great-grandparents were second-generation Irish entering Catholic schools. The Liverpool pupils, as expected, provided an opportunity to examine a sample of pupils whose families and community had been subject to incorporation for a number of generations. The evidence from the Liverpool sub-sample is that Irishness weakens with generation. Significantly, very few of the Liverpool pupils have visited Ireland or participate in Irish social and cultural activities. The analysis of the responses of the Liverpool pupils in chapter eight suggested that Liverpudlianism is a mediating identity which can encompass identification with Irishness or Britishness.

The Irish roots of the Catholic population in Liverpool are masked by an identity, Liverpudlianism, based on the perception of the city as unique. One feature which makes Liverpool different from the rest of the country is the high proportion of Catholics in the population. Liverpudlianism is essentially a working-class identity emerging out of the history of the city which is made up of the experience of a number of

migrant groups, the largest of which is Irish Catholics. The conclusion drawn here is that the weakening of identification with Irish origins over the generations in Liverpool can only be understood as the outcome of a complex set of factors. In particular, this has involved the strengthening of the Catholic identity of the city's Irish population, the development of a strong mediating identity and processes of social mobility.

The sample of teachers also suggests that the ties of allegiance to Irishness weaken by the third and fourth generation. The teachers included three distinct identity groups, all of which encompassed teachers of different generations. The Irishness primary group stated that their Irish origins were very significant in their lives. All of those of Irish descent in this group were either involved in Irish cultural practices or had a political perspective about the importance of their Irish roots. The Irishness secondary group all selected British as their primary identity and Irish as their secondary identity. The teachers in this group suggested that this is a negotiable situation, Irishness essentially remaining as a private identity because many of the teachers felt split between the two identities. The Irishness absent group did not choose Irish as either their primary or secondary identity. Very few of this group are involved in Irish cultural practices and the group was distanced from its Irish roots. The Irishness absent group selected either a British, English or regional identity.

The conclusion drawn from these findings is that the continuing relevance of an Irish identity is strongly associated with involvement in Irish cultural practices. The Irishness absent group represent the success of incorporation, the Irishness primary group are actively resisting the process and the Irishness secondary group are frequently split between a British national identity and a personal Irish identity. The sample of teachers demonstrates that identity remains an arena of contestation for Irish migrants and their descendants.

The findings reveal that, although Irish identity does weaken with generation, this is not the consequence of an inevitable process of adjustment to British society, rather that the weakening of Irish identity

is the consequence of the pressures of incorporation. The evidence presented here suggests that social class, region and participation in Irish cultural practices are significant factors in the denationalisation of the Irish and in the resistance to incorporation. The survival of Irish identity is more likely if the individual of Irish descent is of working-class origins, lives in an Irish area, visits Ireland regularly and participates in Irish social and cultural activities. In these circumstances someone of Irish descent who is third- or fourth-generation Irish would select an Irish identity to describe himself or herself.

The replies of the pupils and teachers to questions about the Irish in Britain, Catholicism and Northern Ireland illustrate further the complexities of the response of the Irish in Britain to the process of incorporation. In response to certain questions there were significant differences between the teachers and the pupils. In other cases the significant difference lay between the two pupil samples. In response to some questions the significant difference was between the London pupils and the teachers on the one hand, and the Liverpool pupils on the other hand. Where the responses of the London and Liverpool pupils were similar, significant differences often existed within each sub-sample. This complexity of response indicates that the success of the process of incorporation is questionable with respect to the weakening of Irish identity, but is effective with respect to the strengthening of Catholic identity.

4.2 THE PRESSURE OF INCORPORATION

The interviews confirm that the Irish in certain respects remain very visible within British culture. Both the pupils and the teachers spoke about the widespread currency of anti-Irish jokes. The stereotype of the Irish which the jokes constantly regenerate is of stupidity. The interviewees described the pressure to accept the jokes as harmless fun and the difficulties faced by people who want to object to the jokes. The legitimacy of anti-Irish jokes in Britain is one means by which many Irish people are silenced. The pupils and teachers in unison described the

media's portrayal of the Irish in the context of Northern Ireland as violent. Many of the respondents thought the effect was to characterise the Irish as inherently and innately violent. The visibility of the Irish in the media also created pressures on Irish people in Britain, as in general did the issue of Northern Ireland. The current visibility of the Irish is, therefore, specific and perpetuates many of the stereotypes about the Irish circulating in the 19th century.

Another question which produced unanimity between the teachers and pupils concerned the desirability of increased teaching about Ireland in schools. The pupils and teachers overwhelmingly thought that there should be more curriculum content about Ireland. The London pupils and teachers describe how Ireland is talked about at home and in the community. The replies of the teachers and pupils indicate the extent of the interest that exists to know about Ireland and the extemt to which the absence of Ireland from the curriculum marginalises the history and current experience of the Irish in Britain. Significantly, all the sub-samples gave the need to know about 'roots' as a reason for increased teaching about Ireland. In addition, the prejudice that Irish people face and the need to understand Northern Ireland were given as reasons for increased teaching.

The similarity in replies between the London and Liverpool samples included similar proportions in both cities who are wary or positive about how teaching about Ireland is introduced into the curriculum. In Liverpool there are some pupils who are very positive about various methods of introducing teaching about Ireland, because of their wish to include their Irish heritage in their cultural framework. The Liverpool pupils think that teaching about Ireland in schools would strengthen the tenuous hold they have on their 'roots', currently sustained by an oral culture. In London, despite the strength of the pupils' Irish identity, there are pupils who are wary of how Ireland is introduced into the school curriculum. They are wary because of an acute consciousness of the possibility that a higher profile for Ireland might generate hostility. The London pupils are experiencing the pressure to be incorporated. Often, as some of them indicate, this pressure stems from the omission of consideration of the Irish by anti-racist educational policies. Pupils see

anti-racist policies implemented in Catholic schools with no reference to the racism Irish people might experience.

4.3 DISCRIMINATION AND INCORPORATION

An area of the questionnaire which produced similarities between the London and Liverpool samples, but differences within each sub-sample, is the treatment of the Irish in Britain. The pupils in both cities are split about whether the Irish experience discrimination. Identity is the crucial determinant of the responses in London and Liverpool. In London the small number of pupils who did not select an Irish identity considered that the Irish are treated the same as other people. Although not a significant difference (except on a one-tail test), this suggests that incorporation may involve denial of discriminatory treatment of the Irish. In Liverpool pupils who selected a Liverpudlian identity are significantly more likely to think the Irish in Britain are treated differently. This represents further evidence that Liverpudlianism includes sensitivity to the situation of Irish people and an awareness of their disadvantaged position. In Liverpool, therefore, incorporation does not necessarily entail denial of discriminatory treatment of the Irish. This may or may not suggest that in this sense Liverpool is exceptional. The former strength of Irish identity in the city could mean that the mediating identity of Liverpudlianism does not prevent empathy with the Irish who experience discrimination.

These responses are interesting when contrasted with the differences that exist between the London and Liverpool samples on the degree to which the Irish have mixed into British society. The London pupils are much more likely to think the Irish have not mixed in than the Liverpool pupils. The Liverpool pupils are more likely to think that the degree to which the Irish have mixed in is dependent on circumstances. Their replies indicate that they think that in Liverpool the Irish have mixed in and this contrasts with their identification of discriminatory treatment of the Irish in the country as a whole. The London pupils are living in an identifiable Irish area of London and it would be surprising if they were not inclined to think the Irish have not mixed in, compared with the

Liverpool pupils. Overall the pupils are very aware that the Irish are subject to discrimination because of their Irishness. In London the pupils describe a relatively segregated community, while in Liverpool the pupils describe how the Irish have mixed in by becoming Scousers.

4.4 IRISH IDENTITY: PUPILS

In a number of further instances the differences between the London and Liverpool pupils directly reflect the visibility or invisibility of the Irish in the local community. The London pupils recognise someone as Irish by their physical appearance, whereas very few of the Liverpool pupils mention appearance as a means of distinguishing Irishness. The London pupils are also significantly more likely to have a positive image of the Irish than are the Liverpool pupils. Both these findings illustrate the social construction of visibility and invisibility. Living in a relatively segregated community with a strong Irish culture the London pupils have a wider range of markers of Irishness available to them and have developed positive images of the Irish, especially through their frequent visits to Ireland. The Liverpool pupils live in a city in which Irishness has been masked and the Irish have been incorporated as Catholics, thus the Irish feature in their lives predominantly in jokes and in news broadcasts about Northern Ireland. Consequently the Liverpool pupils rely on speech as a marker of Irishness and few have developed positive images of the Irish.

The differences between the London and Liverpool pupils are even more sharply displayed in their responses about Northern Ireland. The London pupils are more likely than the Liverpool pupils to hold views at variance with the dominant consensus about Northern Ireland in Britain. The dominant consensus places the crisis in Northern Ireland as an Irish problem in which Britain is involved in a peacekeeping role. The view that the cause of the crisis in Northern Ireland lies in Britain's relations with Ireland was present in London to a greater degree than in Liverpool. The London pupils who selected an Irish identity are more likely to opt for united Ireland or negotiations as solutions to the crisis of Northern Ireland. As pointed out in chapter eleven, both these solutions give

credence to the Republican position and either accept the Republican solution, the removal of the border, or consider Republicans should be involved in negotiations for the resolution of the situation in Northern Ireland.

The Liverpool pupils in constrast are less likely to prof er explanations beyond the dominant consensus and are more likely to be puzzled by the situation in Northern Ireland and to consider the crisis to have reached an impasse. The tenor of the Liverpool pupils' replies is of horror and confusion about Northern Ireland. The conclusion drawn here is that, while Liverpudlians are sympathetic to the Irish with respect to their culture and many think Irish people must hate the jokes and are often treated badly (although not in Liverpool), on the issue of Northern Ireland there is considerably less evidence of affinity with Irish concerns. The strategy of incorporation developed by the Catholic Church aimed at the denationalisation of the children of Irish migrants has been successful in this respect. The views of the Liverpool sample show that denationalisation has been successful in a city which was considered, as described in chapter three, to pose a revolutionary threat in 1848.

The level of 'don't know' and 'stalemate' responses in Liverpool reflects the absence of Northern Ireland in the curriculum and the taboos about discussing Northern Ireland The issue is so sensitive that even the dominant consensus is not transmitted in Catholic schools. The responses of the London pupils about Northern Ireland show the extent to which they are the recipients of alternative explanations at home. These findings indicate that many second-generation pupils in Catholic schools hold views which suggest that the Catholic schools' practice of ignoring Ireland and especially Northern Ireland, despite the concern of the pupils who attend the schools, forms a continuing strategy of denationalisation. The strategy of denationalisation has varying degrees of success. However, the Catholic schools in the sample are successful in preventing discussion of Irish issues.

4.5 IRISH IDENTITY: TEACHERS

The findings from the teachers' sample tend to confirm the conclusions drawn from the pupils' sample. In particular, the findings from the teachers confirm that the visibility or invisibility of the Irish in Britain is dependent upon the community in which an individual is reared. Further, the findings confirm that identity is the key variable for determining the views of those of Irish descent. Social class in some instances is also significant. However, generation is never a significant independent variable; it is only significant in that there is a greater tendency for those of the third or fourth generation to appear in the Irishness absent group.

The teachers differ from the pupils about two issues. The teachers are more likely to cite appearance as a marker of Irishness than the pupils, and the teachers are also more likely to have a positive image of the Irish. These findings can be explained in two ways. First, the pupils are less likely to give appearance as a means of distinguishing the Irish because of the very low incidence of Liverpool pupils giving this response Second, many of the teachers have been reared in Irish areas and, like the London pupils, have had the opportunity to acquire a wider spectrum of markers of Irishness than the populace as a whole and to develop positive images of the Irish.

The role of identity is most explicitly revealed in the teachers' responses about the issues of discrimination, 'mixing in' and Northern Ireland. Consistently the teachers who selected an Irish identity, and especially the Irishness primary group, were more likely to think the Irish are discriminated against, more likely to report witnessing something objectionable directed at the Irish, and less likely to think the Irish have mixed in. These findings are further evidence that the degree to which the Irish are perceived to face difficulties in British society is directly related to the identity of the teacher. In responses about Northern Ireland teachers who selected an Irish identity and were of a working-class background were most likely to diverge from the dominant consensus on Northern Ireland, both about the causes and possible solutions

to the crisis. These findings support the argument of the thesis that the process of incorporation involves denial of the specificity of Irish experience in Britain and distance from the political objectives associated with Irish nationalism.

4.6 CATHOLICISM AND IRISH IDENTITY

The previous findings showing the significance and consequences of identity are strengthened by the findings relating to the meaning of Catholicism and the association of Catholicism with Irishness. In both the London and Liverpool samples Catholic communality is a major reason given for describing the meaning of religion. However, as described in chapter ten, what emerges from a close examination of the responses is that Catholic communality means something different in the two cities. For the London sample Catholic communality is bound closely to the Irish Catholic communities in which the pupils live. Catholic communality is perceived as fusing Irishness and Catholicism, the communality is Irish and the Church is associated with that communality. In Liverpool the pupils who refer to Catholic communality mean that it gives them a sense of belonging but to a body of Catholics rather than to their Irish heritage.

This interpretation is given further weight by examining the teachers' responses. The Irishness absent group are more likely to cite Catholic communality as the distinguishing mark of Catholic schools and two-thirds of them give Catholic communality as the meaning of religion. The examination of the responses of this group of teachers revealed that for them, as for the Liverpool pupils, Catholic communality means a sense of belonging to a body of Catholics. A smaller percentage of the Irishness primary group of teachers give Catholic communality as the meaning of religion, and significantly fewer than the Irishness absent group cite Catholic communality as the distinguishing mark of Catholic schools. The examination of their responses revealed that they recognise the incorporation process involved in Catholic schooling and perceive that it entails denial of the Irish dimension of the communal experience. Thus the two sub-samples who are most incorporated in terms of the weakening of

Irish identity are the two groups most likely to base a sense of communality on Catholicism rather than Irishness.

These conclusions are supported by the findings of the pupils' and teachers' responses on the association made between Catholicism and Irishness in Britain. The London pupils were far more likely to think Catholicism and Irishness are associated than the Liverpool pupils. The Irishness primary group of teachers are more likely to think Catholicism and Irishness are associated than the rest of the teachers. Thus the two sub-samples who are the least incorporated because of the strength of their Irish identity are the two groups most likely to perceive a continuing linkage in British society between Irishness and Catholicism.

5. BREAKING THE SILENCE: FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The hypotheses tested in the empirical study were derived from the long and detailed historical investigation presented in part one of the thesis and are, therefore, well grounded. However, the hypotheses could only be tested on a small sample. Despite the size of the sample, the differences that the study revealed between different groups of pupils and teachers show the contemporary complexity of the issues of incorporation and identity for those of Irish descent in Britain. The thesis began with the problem of the silence of pupils of Irish descent in Catholic schools about their Irish background and the absence of Ireland and the contemporary Irish from the school curriculum. Further it was argued that the absence of the Irish from debates about minorities in British society masks the presence of the Irish community. This study is a contribution towards breaking the silence about the Irish in Britain.

The focus has been on the role of Catholic education in rendering the Irish invisible. The origins of practices which became the hallmark of Catholic schools were examined, for example, the early use of the term 'the Catholic poor' to describe Irish migrants and the absence of Ireland from the curriculum, which created a context that denied the Irish their own history. The continuance of these practices in the 20th century was

demonstrated by the comments of the pupils and teachers about their own education in Catholic schools. The view here is that the English Catholic Church has both directly and indirectly attempted to incorporate and denationalise the Irish in Britain and has taken few steps to challenge Irish stereotypes. The consequences for the identity of the Irish in Britain are complex. Children of Irish descent attending Catholic schools are, therefore, at risk and the consequence is often a painful crisis of identity.

Of equal interest for a study of the incorporatist forces in Britain would be a study of the role of the British labour movement and the Labour Party. For many Irish people in the 19th century their class interests vied both with their religious convictions and their national allegiance. A hypothesis worth investigating is that Irish involvement in labour politics was at the cost of marginalising Irish issues and at the cost of weakening Irish national identity. Furthermore research would explore the anti-Catholic tendencies of labour politics in Britain, rooted in the formative influence of Methodism, and the research could examine the commitment of the Labour Party to British national identity. This raises the general issue of the role of the Labour Party, and for that matter any major political party, in the weakening of the identity of some migrants by the subordination of such identities to issues of social class.

The study of Irish identity also suggests that further investigation of the meaning of religion for Catholics of Irish descent in Britain would be fruitful. It is clear from the evidence presented here that only a minority of pupils and teachers give the doctrine and rituals of the Church as the meaning of religion. The emphasis is placed on Catholic communality as the meaning of religion, either because of the association between Catholicism and Irishness or because of a sense of belonging to a body of Catholics. In other words, it is not sufficient to gauge the meaning of religion through levels of practice alone or to assume that the processes of secularisation and modernisation are the main factors influencing lapsation. The evidence of the Irishness primary group of teachers is that they recognise the incorporatist role of the Catholic Church and are critical of the Church as a consequence. This suggests that future studies

should take into account the role of communality in the meaning of religion for Catholics of Irish descent.

A number of indications have been given in part two of the thesis of the ways in which a larger-scale study could develop understanding of the experience of the Irish in Britain. In particular, the impact of region and social class on the process of incorporation and the identity of the Irish warrant further investigation. For example, it is argued here that the broad outlines of the thesis of incorporation and denationalisation hold true for Scotland as well as for England and Wales, because the British State has had the same general objective of actively attempting to regulate the expression and development of the separate and distinctive identities of potentially oppositional groups, in order to create a single nation-state. However, specific differences would be expected in Scotland because of the greater proportion the Irish formed in the population, the differences in their role in the industrial labour force and because of the existence of a strong Scottish national identity. The full implications of the separate educational settlement in Scotland in 1918 have yet to be adequately examined with respect to Irish Catholics.

The resistance to incorporation has been shown to depend on a number of factors, pre-eminent amongst which is involvement in Irish cultural practices. It is interesting to speculate that, for example, visits to Ireland, learning Irish dancing and an interest in Irish music assume a specific importance because of the absence of language as a means of defining national identity for the Irish in Britain.

The evidence presented in the thesis suggests that social mobility could be a factor in the incorporation of the Irish in Britain. Recent research (Hornsby-Smith and Dale 1988) has indicated that the second-generation Irish born of parents from the Republic of Ireland are more socially mobile upwards than the indigenous population. The hypothesis suggested by this thesis is that the effectiveness of Catholic education may well explain the social mobility of Irish Catholics in the late 20th century. The children of Irish Catholics from the Republic of Ireland continue to be segregated and differentiated in their schooling. It could

be that Catholic schools are the only part of the state education system to facilitate social mobility for a specific group of the population. The social mobility achieved, however, is often at the cost of Irish identity.

The argument here is that the Irish migration of the 1950s has been given scant attention in the study of minorities in Britain because separate institutions existed to deal with the 20th-century Irish migrants. These institutions, for example, Catholic schools, exist because of the social problem and political threat that the Irish were seen to pose in the 19th century. Any comparison between the experience of the Irish as labour migrants and that of Asian and Afro-Caribbean migrants and their descendants in Britain must include their different educational experiences. The three groups have in common that the British State, faced with large groups of essential labour migrants, will develop strategies of incorporation. The example of the Irish has shown that incorporatist strategies co-exist with strategies of segregation and differentiation. In this sense the study of the history of Irish experience can stand as an exemplar of the response of the British State to labour migrants from Britain's ex-colonies. Clearly, all that can be done within the confines and purposes of this thesis is to draw attention to the importance of comparative studies of the social basis of the strengthening and weakening of the identities of various migrant groups in Britain.

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APPENDIX 1

METHOD OF ANALYSING INTERVIEW DATA

1. SYSTEMIC NETWORK ANALYSIS

The empirical study was conducted through interviews and produced many elaborated responses. A method of analysis was required which offered a way of organising the data and of capturing its complexity. In addition, it was necessary to code the data so that comparisons could be made between the responses of the different sub-groups of the sample. Systemic Network analysis was chosen because it was well suited to the requirements of this study. The defining characteristic of Systemic Network Analysis is the network. A network is rather like a map, it allows distinctions to be drawn and relationships between constituent parts to be presented. The network also allows any distinctions to be further divided into subsiduary categories.

A network is a set of binary distinctions which allows for progressively finer distinctions or subdivisions as the distinctions proceed from left to right. The binary distinctions to the left of the set refer to the most general and those to the right to the most local or discreet distinction. Thus a network is a set of binary distinctions which allows any distinction to be further divided into subsidiary caregories.

A network is not simply derived from the information it is coding. A network is an instrument or a device which enables information to be transformed into data relevant to the exploration of a theory, a hypothesis or guiding ideas. In the case of the empirical research reported in this thesis the theory provided initial expectations of the semantic potential of each of the answers to the questions put to the interviewees. However, the set of distinctions and their sub-division of a network, must be capable of describing (coding) all the information. In the case of this research this means that any network must, in principle, be capable of coding all the information provided by the interviewees. Thus a network must be sensitive to <u>all</u> the information and

not simply to the data relevant to the theory. From this point of view a network is not merely a selective device for transforming information into data supportive of a theory in an entirely circular fashion. It is a device which can lead to a change of the theory or guiding ideas initially responsible for the network. In an important sense there is a continuous interaction between information, network and theory.

A decision is always required to halt a set of distinctions as these distinctions undergo further sub-divisions and to collapse finer distinctions into more general categories. This decision is crucially affected by the size of the sample and the principle used to systematise the results. In the case of this research a statistical principle was used and as a consequence the decision to halt or collapse distinctions and their sub-divisions was entirely a matter of the numerical size of the cells. However because some responses are idiosyncratic it is not always the case that they are not of interest and the network allows such responses to appear in the description of the findings.

Reliability of the coding is established by measuring the degree of agreement between coders applying the network to the information. Coders are required to know the definitions regulating the allocation of information to the various distinctions and sub-divisions and be familiar with the network principle. A network, like any principle for coding open-ended data, is a learnt activity. Networks have a number of advantages for the coding of such data. The principles upon which a network rests must be explicit otherwise reliability will be low. A network is a device for creating, operationalising, developing and changing theory and a means for achieving in principle an exhaustive description. Network analysis has been used for coding mother-child interaction, Bernstein and Cook-Gumperz (1973), Hasan and Cloran (1984), classroom interaction, Pedro (1984) children's classifications, Holland (1981), and adolescent interviews, Holland (1986). It has its origins and development in the work of Halliday (1973).

2. THE METHOD OF PRODUCING A NETWORK

Networks were produced for each question in sections B, C, and D of the questionaire which was used in the interviews. (Networks were not produced for sections A and E of the questionaire, relating to personal data about the respondents.) In order to demonstrate the method used a detailed examination of how the network for Question 15 was produced is given below. The total set of networks are available from the author.

Question 15: What do you think of Irish jokes? (See network on page 485)

Three distinct sets of responses (known as 'terms' in Systemic Network Analysis terminology) can be identified in the replies to this question. The 'terms' represent sets of responses that are theoretically coherent within themselves and mutually exclusive. The three terms included in the network for question 15 are:

1 Acceptance - those who consider Irish jokes to be funny, and view them as just another kind of joke

2 Problematic/contingent - those who think that Irish jokes can be a problem but that this varies with circumstances

3 Problematic/rejection - those who think Irish jokes are a problem and find them offensive

Each term is sub-divided further, producing finer distinctions as the network is extended from the left to the right. For example, respondents who gave an answer coded as 'problematic/rejection' may have given one of three distinct responses for their negative reaction to Irish jokes. For example, a response may involve an immediate emotional reaction to the jokes, for example, 'hate them'. The response 'hate them' is located on the far right of the network as one sub-division of 'prejudicial to the listener', which is itself a sub-division of the term 'problematic/rejection'. Other respondents who gave a 'problematic/rejection' response did so because of their view of the content of

Irish jokes. Thus, those who found the jokes offensive because the content degraded Irish people are a sub-division of 'prejudicial with reference to content' which in turn is a sub-division of 'problematic/rejection'.

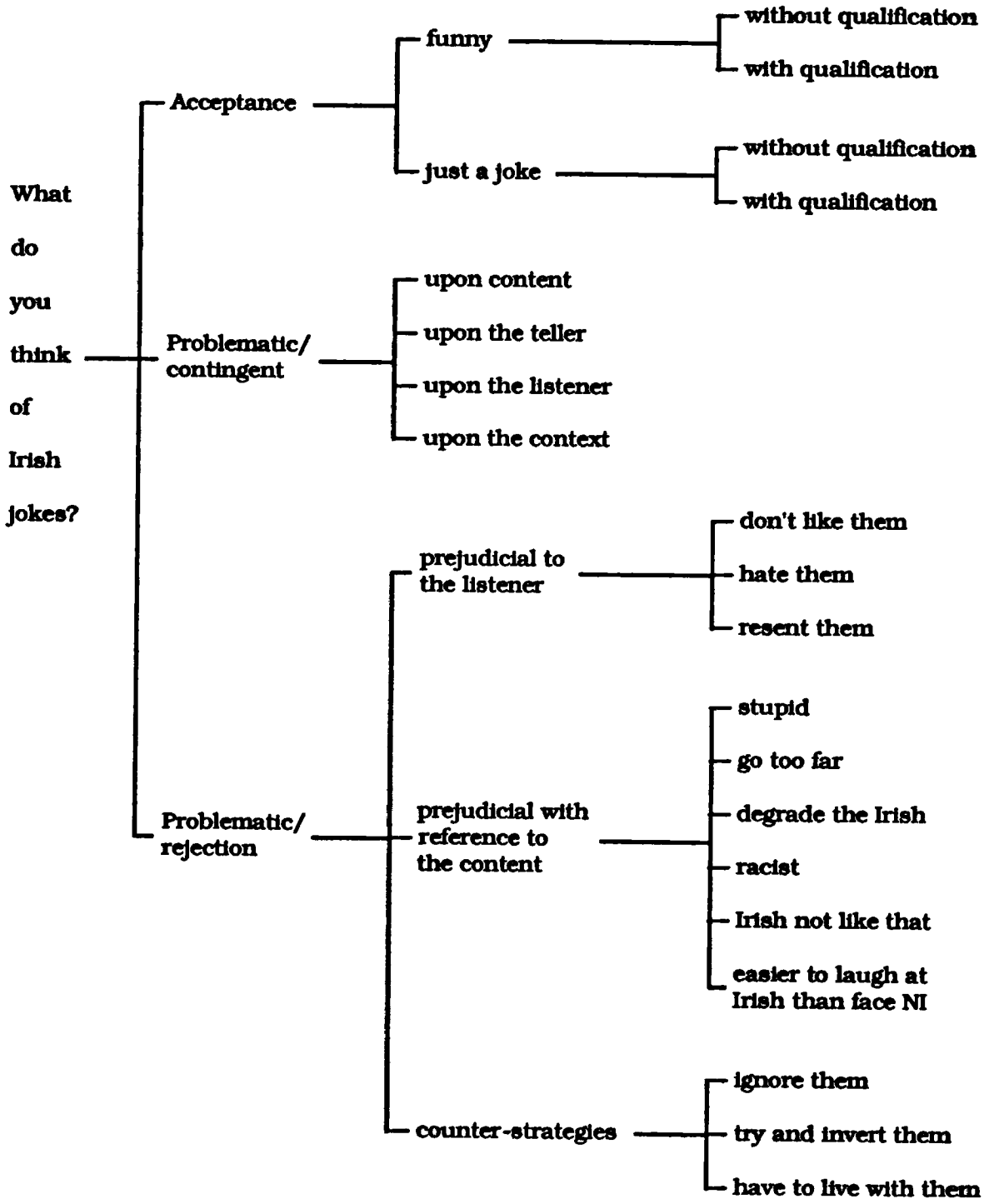
This method of developing the networks was followed for each question. Carrying out the procedures of Systemic Network Analysis on this data was a time consuming process. To construct each network every interview had to be re-read to extract the information relating to each question. The next stage was to sort all the data thus collected in order to arrive at the terms and sub-divisions which reflected the differences present in each set of responses. At that stage the network was drawn up.

In the presentation of the findings in Chapters 9, 10 and 11 the terms of each network are replicated as the 'responses' given in the tables for each question. In the discussion sections which follow in each chapter, excerpts from the interviews are included. The discussion sections therefore enable the sub-divisions of the networks to be explored through the use of quotations from the interview data.

3. RELIABILITY

The reliability of the coding in this study was tested by asking two research Sociologists at the Institute of Education to check the accuracy of the categorizations made in the networks and orientating definitions. The reliability sample consisted of 10% of the total sample. Each coder was given a copy of the transcripts for every question for which a network was constructed. After a training period the coders independently allocated responses to the choice points in the network. At the end of this exercise it was found that the vast majority of choices made by the two researchers were in agreement with the original coding (98 per cent of the choices of the first researcher were in agreement; 91 per cent of the choices made by the second researcher were in agreement). This suggested that the networks and definitions were reliable in that they could be operated by independent coders to achieve a similar result. were an appropriate mode of analysis for this interview data and that the coding was reliable.

NETWORK 15


What do you think of Irish jokes?
Acceptance
funny
without qualification
with qualification
just a joke
without qualification
with qualification
Problematic/ contingent
upon content
upon the teller
upon the listener
upon the context
Problematic/ rejection
prejudicial to the listener
don't like them
hate them
resent them
prejudicial with reference to the content
stupid
go too far
degrade the Irish
racist
Irish not like that
easier to laugh at Irish than face NI
counter-strategies
ignore them
try and invert them
have to live with them

APPENDIX 2

CHI-SQUARE TEST VALUES

CHAPTER 8

Table 1 PUPILS: CHOICE OF IDENTITY

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples in selecting an Irish identity: chi-square value 27.96, level of significance = .001.

Difference between London and Liverpool samples in selecting a regional identity: chi-square value 18.90, level of significance = .001.

Table 6 PUPILS. VISITS TO IRELAND

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples visits to Ireland: chi-square value 32.7, level of significance = .001.

Table 7 PUPILS: INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples involvement in Irish social and cultural activities: chi-square value 8.26, level of significance = .01.

Table 8 PUPILS: PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples for parental involvement in Irish social and cultural activities: chi-square value 12.22, level of significance = .001.

Table 12 TEACHERS: GENERATION DISTRIBUTION

Difference between the first and second generation teachers and the third and fourth generation teachers in selecting an Irish identity: chi-square value 4.78, level of significance = .05.

Table 15 TEACHERS: VISITS TO IRELAND BY GENERATION

Difference between the first and second generation teachers and the third and fourth generation teachers in visiting Ireland: chi-square value 8.23, level of significance = .01.

Table 16 TEACHERS: INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Difference between teachers who selected an Irish identity and teachers who did not select an Irish identity participating in Irish social and cultural activities: chi-square value 18.9, level of significance = .001.

CHAPTER 9

Table 2b LONDON PUPILS. REACTIONS TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Difference between the middle class and working class pupils in London considering Irish jokes to be problematic: chi-square value 5.36, level of significance .05.

Table 3b LIVERPOOL PUPILS: PERCEIVED REACTIONS OF IRISH PEOPLE TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES ACCORDING TO PUPILS IDENTITY

Difference between the pupils who selected Liverpudlian identity and all the other pupils in Liverpool in their perceptions of the reaction of Irish people to Irish jokes: chi-sqare value 9.96, level of significance .01.

Table 5 TEACHERS: REACTIONS TO ANTI-IRISH JOKES

Difference between the Irish/primary identity group and the rest of the teachers in their non-acceptance of Irish jokes. chi-square 6.3, level of significance = .02.

Table 7 PUPILS: RECOGNITION MARKERS OF IRISHNESS

Difference between the London and Liverpool pupils in their selection of 'appearance' as a recognition marker of Irishness: chi-square value 13.14, level of significance = .001.

Table 8c LIVERPOOL PUPILS: PERCEPTIONS OF TREATMENT OF IRISH IN BRITAIN ACCORDING TO PUPIL IDENTITY

Difference between pupils who selected Liverpudlian identity and the rest of the pupils in Liverpool in their perception that Irish people are treated differently in Britain: chi-square value 4.54, level of significance = .05.

Table 9c LIVERPOOL PUPILS: OBJECTIONS TO THE TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Difference between the middle class pupils in Liverpool and the working class pupils in stating they had seen or heard something 'political' directed against the Irish: chi-square value 4.0, level of significance = .05.

Table 10 PUPILS: POSITIVE IMAGES OF THE IRISH

Difference between the London and Liverpool pupils in reporting positive images of the Irish: chi-square value 4.16, level of significance = .05.

Table 11a PUPILS: PERCEPTIONS OF THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE IRISH HAVE MIXED IN

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples in thinking the Irish had mixed in well: chi-square value 6.08, level of significance = .02.

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples in thinking the degree to which the Irish had mixed in well is contingent on circumstances: chi-square value 4 65, level of significance = .05.

Table 12 TEACHERS: RECOGNITION FACTORS OF IRISHNESS

Difference between the pupils and teachers in giving 'appearance' as a recognition marker of Irishness: chi-square value 12.27, level of significance = .001.

Table 14 TEACHERS: OBJECTIONS TO TREATMENT OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

Difference between the teachers who selected an Irish identity and those who did not select an Irish idenitity in having seen or heard something derogatoiry about the Irish: chi-square value 4.97, level of significance = .05.

Difference between teachers who selected an Irish identity and the Irishness/absent group in stating they had not seen or heard anything directed against the Irish: chi-square value 6.3, level of significance = .02.

Table 15 TEACHERS: POSITIVE IMAGES OF THE IRISH

Difference between the pupils and teachers in having a positive image of the Irish: chi-square value 14.93, level of significance = .001.

Table 16 TEACHERS: PERCEPTIONS OF DEGREE TO WHICH THE IRISH HAVE MIXED IN

Difference between the Irishness/primary idenitity group and the rest of the teachers about the Irish having mixed in well: chi-square value 4.16, level of significance = .05.

CHAPTER 10

Table 2b LONDON PUPILS: PERSONAL MEANING OF CATHOLICISM ACCORDING TO IDENTITY

Difference between the pupils who selected an Irish identity and those who did not choose an Irish identity about Catholic communality constituting the meaning of religion: chi-square value 4.97, level of significance = .05.

Table 3 PUPILS. ASSOCIATION BETWEEN IRISHNESS AND CATHOLICISM

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples about whether Catholicism and Irishness are synonomous: chi-square value 6.21, level of significance = .02.

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples about whether Irishness and Catholicism are associated together to any degree or not. chi-square value 4.99, level of significance = .05.

Table 4 TEACHERS: DISTINCTIVENESS OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

Difference between the teachers and pupils about the distinctiveness of Catholic schools: chi-square value 22.86, level of significance = .001.

Table 6a TEACHERS: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN IRISHNESS AND CATHOLICISM

Difference between the Irishness/primary group and the rest of the teachers about Irish people being assumed to be Catholic and Catholicism and Irishness being synonomous: chi-square value 4.16, level of significance = 05.

Difference between the Irishness/primary group and the rest of the teachers about the association between Irishness and Catholicism being contingent: chi-square value 8.89, level of significance = .01.

Table 6b TEACHERS: ASSOCIATION BETWEEN IRISHNESS AND CATHOLICISM ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Difference between teachers of a working class background compared with teachers of a middle class background about the likelihood of Irish people being assumed to be Catholic: chi-square value 4.23, level of significance = .05.

Table 13 TEACHERS: PREFERENCE FOR INTEGRATED OR SEPARATE TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Difference between the Irishness/primary group and the Irishness absent group in giving a wary reply for integrating teaching about Ireland into the existing curriculum: chi-square value 5.68, level of significance = .02.

Table 14 TEACHERS: RESPONSIBILITY OF CATHOLIC SCHOOLS FOR TEACHING ABOUT IRELAND

Difference between Irishness/primary group and Irishness absent group about the special responsibility of Catholic schools for teaching about Ireland: chi-square value 4.24, level of significance = .05.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Table 2 PUPILS: MAIN CAUSES OF NORTHERN IRELAND CRISIS

Difference between London and Liverpool samples about the main cause of the crisis in Northern Ireland is the relationship between Britain and Ireland: chi-square value 5.14, level of significance .05.

Table 3b LONDON PUPILS: SOLUTIONS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND ACCORDING TO IDENTITY

Difference between the pupils who selected an Irish identityand those who did not select an Irish identity in suggesting a United Ireland or negotiations as the solution for Northern Ireland: chi-square value 3.88, level of significance = .05.

Table 5a TEACHERS: MAIN CAUSES OF EVENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Difference between the Irishness/primary group and the Irishness absent group about the main cause of the crisis in Northern Ireland is the relationship between Britain and Ireland: chi-square value 5.80, level of significance = .02.

Table 5b TEACHERS: MAIN CAUSES OF EVENTS IN NORTHERN IRELAND ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

Difference between teachers of a working class background and teachers from a middle class background about the main cause of the crisis in Northern Ireland is the relationship between Britain and Ireland: chi-square value 4.41, level of significance = .05.

Table 6 TEACHERS: SOLUTIONS FOR NORTHERN IRELAND

Difference between Irishness/primary group and Irishness absent group in suggesting a United Ireland or negotiations as solutions for Northern Ireland: chi-square value 3.95, level of significance = .05.

Table 8a PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSING NORTHERN IRELAND WITH FRIENDS

Difference between the London and Liverpool samples in discussing Northern Ireland with friends: chi-square value 8.79, level of significance = .01.

Table 8b LIVERPOOL PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSING NORTHERN IRELAND WITH FRIENDS ACCORDING TO GENDER

Difference between boys and girls in incidence of discussing Northern Ireland with friends: chi-square value 11.22, level of significance = .001.

Table 9b LIVERPOOL PUPILS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSING ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL ACCORDING TO GENDER

Difference between boys and girls in discussing Northern Ireland outside school: chi-square value 5.26, level of significance = .05.

Table 11 TEACHERS: INCIDENCE OF DISCUSSING NORTHERN IRELAND IN STAFFROOM

Difference between teachers who selected an Irish identity and the Irishness absent group in discussing Northern Ireland in the staffroom: chi-square value 4.5, level of significance = .05.

The direction of difference in all the above tests was predicted and two-tail tests have been used to yield the level of significance. However, in a small number of cases of theoretical interest a one-tail test was used (chapter eight, table 10; chapter nine, table 13; chapter ten, tables 4 and 6b). In these cases the concern is to see whether such differences might warrant further exploration in a larger sample.

All the questions in the questionnaire were tested to establish whether generation, identity, region, social class and gender produced statistically significant differences between the sub-samples. The presentation of the findings reports all significant differences recorded.